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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

WHEN I formed the plan of this work, it was my intention to lay before the Reader as much useful, authentic, and amusing information, on the subjects of the seven chapters of each book, as I could collect, without paying any regard to the proportion of these chapters to one another, in point of length. This, I knew, would be different in different ages, as the manners, circumstances, and pursuits of the people of Britain changed. In that part of the fifteenth century which is the subject of the present book, both the British nations were more constantly engaged in war, these wars were more fierce and bloody, and produced more sudden and surprising revolutions, than in any other period. This is the reason that the first chapter of this book is longer than that of any of the former books, in proportion to the other chapters, though nothing hath been omitted in any of these chapters that seemed worthy of a place in general history. I take no delight in describing scenes of slaughter and desolation, though such descriptions may be useful, and on the present occasion

TO THE PUBLIC.

sion were unavoidable. It was impossible to draw a faithful picture of our ancestors, in those unhappy times, without painting them in arms, destroying one another, or carrying destruction into other countries. I look forward with pleasure to the succeeding periods of our history, when the sword was oftener sheathed, and the arts of peace were cultivated with greater assiduity and success.

In discovering the truth, and forming the events of this period into a clear, consistent, and well-authenticated narration, I have experienced several difficulties. Some of the events are so surprising, that they are hardly credible; others are involved in darkness almost impenetrable; and the information afforded by the contemporary historians is seldom satisfactory, often confused, and sometimes contradictory. Whether I have succeeded or not, in surmounting these difficulties, is humbly submitted to the decision of the Public. I shall only say, that I have attempted it, and that the attempt hath cost me no little thought and labour, as well as time.

R. H.

C O N T E N T S
OF THE
N I N T H V O L U M E

B O O K V.

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from the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399,
to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.**

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Page 175, line 21, for 1482 read 1483.

THE

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

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The civil and military history of England, from the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.

SECTION I.

From the accession of Henry IV. A. D. 1399, to the accession of Henry V. A. D. 1413.

THE accession of Henry IV. may be dated on September 30, A. D. 1399, when he was placed on the throne by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, in the presence, and with the approbation, of both houses of parliament¹. After a soothing speech from the throne, which hath been already related, he adjourned the

A. D. 1399.
Coronation of Henry IV.

¹ T. Walsingham, p. 360. T. Otterbourne, a Th. Hearn edit. tom. 1. p. 220.

A.D. 1399.

parliament to October 9, that he might have leisure to prepare for his coronation, which he appointed to be on the 13th of the same month, the anniversary of his going into exile². He was accordingly crowned at Westminster on that day, by T. Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, with all the ancient solemnities, and some new ones of his own invention, admirably calculated to impress the minds of a superstitious people with greater veneration for his person and authority³. Thus, by a very surprising revolution, Henry duke of Lancaster, surnamed *Bollinbroke*, from the place of his birth, in less than three months of an exile, became the crowned anointed king of a great and powerful nation.

Perplexities and dangers of king Henry.

Though Henry was now in peaceable possession of the throne, he was neither secure in his state nor easy in his mind; but, on the contrary, he was involved in many perplexities, and exposed to many dangers. He evidently owed his elevation to a sudden gale of popular favour, excited by compassion for his sufferings; and he could not but be sensible that this might soon subside, or take a different turn. Edward the black prince had long

² He commanded the sword which he wore when he landed at Ravenspore, to be carried naked and erect before him, calling it *Lancaster sword*, intimating, that he was determined to defend his crown by his sword. The oil with which he was anointed (contained in a vessel of stone, with a cover of gold set with diamonds), it was affirmed, had been brought from heaven by the Virgin Mary, and delivered to St. Thomas Becket, with a declaration, that the kings anointed with that oil would be great and victorious princes, and zealous champions of the church. However ridiculous this tale may appear to us, it is related by the contemporary historians as a certain truth.

³ See vol. 7. b. 4. c. 1. §. 5. Otterbourne, p. 220. Walsing. p. 360.

been

been the boast and darling of the English nation, and his memory was held in the highest veneration. Richard, his unhappy son, was still alive, and, in spite of all his errors, had many friends, who lamented his fall, and ardently desired his restoration. Henry increased his perplexities and dangers, by the pride and jealousy of his nature, which never allowed him to acknowledge that he had received the crown from the free gift of the people, by their representatives in parliament, as a reward for having delivered them from tyranny, though all the world knew that he had no other title. He could not seriously pretend that he had conquered England, when he arrived in it with only eighty persons in his company, and owed all his success to the voluntary conflux of the people to his standard; and though he hinted at the right of conquest when he claimed the crown, he was obliged immediately to disavow it. Nor could he pretend to the hereditary right of blood; for that was evidently in Edmund Mortimer, the young earl of March, descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; and Roger earl of March, the father of that young nobleman, had a few years before been declared presumptive heir to Richard II. by act of parliament. Richard earl of Cambridge, also one of the sons of Edmund duke of York, who had married Ann, sister of Edmund earl of March, considered himself as injured by the intrusion of Henry into the throne; Charles VI. king of France was greatly enraged at the deposition of Richard

A. D. 1399.

A.D. 1399.

his son-in-law, and threatened vengeance; and the Scots waited with impatience the expected commotions in England, in order to invade it. Besides all this, Henry lay under such mighty obligations to those who had espoused his cause (particularly to the two powerful earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland), that he found it as difficult to secure the adherence of his friends, by gratifying their desires, as to guard against the designs of his enemies.

Henry makes the parliament an instrument of fixing him on the throne.

Henry's wisdom, courage, and good fortune, did not desert him in this critical situation, and he pursued the most prudent measures for preserving the prize he had obtained. The parliament which had deposed Richard, and raised the duke of Lancaster to the throne, had been called in the name of the first of these princes, but was entirely under the influence of the last, who therefore continued it, and made it the instrument of enacting whatever he thought fit to dictate. This obsequious assembly entailed the crown upon Henry and his descendants, without assigning any reason; or taking notice of the pretensions of any other person⁴. It repealed all the acts of that famous parliament which met at Westminster A. D. 1397, and at Shrewsbury A. D. 1398, though all the lords, both spiritual and temporal, had taken a solemn oath never to consent to the repeal of these acts⁵. The earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntington, Somerset, Salisbury, Thomas lord d'Espencer, and William le Scrop, had been the great friends and confidents of king Richard, the accusers of

⁴ Hall, folio 10, 11.

⁵ T. Walling. p. 361. T. Ozerbourne,

p. 222.

the

A. D. 1399.

the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, in the late parliament, and had received grants of the forfeited estates of these noblemen, and been raised to the higher titles of dukes of Albemarle, Surry, Exeter, marquis of Dorset, earls of Gloucester and Wiltshire, as a reward for that service. Henry, suspecting them of a secret attachment to their former master, determined to humble and reduce them under his mercy, that he might either ruin them, or gain them to his interest. With this view he prevailed upon this parliament to deprive them of the titles and fortunes they had obtained in the last, and to leave them at his mercy as to their former honours and estates⁶. The parliament, having done every thing Henry could devise for fixing him firmly on the throne, was dissolved.

To reward his most powerful friends, was one of the first cares of this wise prince. On the very first day of his reign, he constituted Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, constable, and Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, marshal of England; and a few days after, he granted the Isle of Man to the former, and the earldom of Richmond to the latter⁷. In the distribution of favours, his own family was not forgotten; his eldest son, Henry, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester, October 15, and a few days after, duke of Aquitaine⁸. To the earls of Warwick and Arundel, all their estates and honours were

Rewards
his friends,⁶ T. Walsing. p. 361.⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 89. 95. T. Otterbourne, p. 222.⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 91, &c. T. Walsing. p. 361.

A.D. 1399- restored; and on many others honours, grants, and offices, were bestowed.

Courts the clergy and the people.

Henry, when he was earl of Derby, as well as his father the duke of Lancaster, had been suspected of favouring the opinions of Wickliff; but he now acted a very different part, and courted the favour of the clergy with the greatest diligence, professing the greatest regard to their persons and interest, and to all the ceremonies of their religion⁹. To give the people in general a specimen of the difference between his government and that of his predecessor, he issued a proclamation, commanding all the blank bonds, called *Ragmans*, which had been extorted by Richard and his favourites, to be committed to the flames¹⁰.

Sends ambassadors to France and Scotland.

When the internal peace of the kingdom, as he imagined, was thus secured, he bent his thoughts to avert the storms which threatened him from abroad. With this view he sent Thomas Skirlowe bishop of Durham, and Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, ambassadors to the court of France, with instructions to negotiate, if possible, some intermarriages between the two royal families, and by all means to prevent a war; to which the unsettled state of that court, and of the king's health, who was subject to frequent fits of madness, contributed more than any arguments they could employ¹¹. The Scots, expecting an invasion of England from France, made an incursion into Northumberland, took and destroyed the castle of Wark,

⁹ Rym. Feod. tom. 3. p. 96, 97, 101. &c.

¹⁰ Id. ibid. p. 109.

¹¹ Id. ibid. p. 108.

and

CH. II. § 1. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

and plundered the open country¹². Henry, unwilling to engage in a war so soon, gave a commission to the earl of Westmoreland, to enter into a negotiation with these troublesome neighbours; and the Scots, disappointed of the French invasion, retired into their own country, and desisted from hostilities¹³.

A.D. 1399.

But all these precautions could not prevent the plots of Henry's enemies; and a very dangerous one broke out in the beginning of this year. The earls of Rutland, Huntington, Kent, Salisbury, and Gloucester (though the two first were his near relations¹⁴, and they had been all kindly treated by the new king), could not forget the estates and titles which they had received from Richard, and of which they had been deprived by Henry in the late parliament. To revenge this injury, as they esteemed it, they held frequent meetings in the lodgings of the abbot of Westminster; where the following plot was formed, for restoring Richard, and depriving Henry of his crown and life. They agreed to proclaim a splendid tournament, to be held at Oxford, January 3, to invite Henry to be present, and preside at that solemnity; and appointed certain assassins to murder him, and such of his sons as were with him, when they were intent in viewing the diversion. The king, who was keeping his Christmas at Windsor, was accordingly invited by the earl of Huntington, his brother-in-law; and, dreading no danger, accepted of the invitation. When

A.D. 1400.
Conspiracy against Henry.

¹² T. Otterbourne, p. 224.

¹³ Rym. Foed. tom. 8. p. 107.

¹⁴ Rutland was his first cousin, and Huntington his brother-in-law.

A.D. 1400.

the day approached, the conspirators came to Oxford, attended by numerous trains of followers; and every thing seemed to promise success to their scheme¹⁵.

Discover-
ed and
defeated.

But on January 2, the earl of Rutland went privately to Windsor, and discovered the whole plot (of which he had been the chief contriver) to the king. Henry, knowing the treacherous character of the man, who betrayed every party with whom he was connected, hesitated for some time, and remained all the next day at Windsor in a state of suspense. At length, being convinced of the reality of the plot, he set out in the evening for London. In the mean time, the conspirators at Oxford remained in great anxiety, expecting every moment the arrival of the king, and their accomplices the earl of Rutland. Finding they did not arrive, they concluded that their plot was discovered, and resolved to attempt by force what they could not accomplish by fraud, hoping to surprise the king at Windsor, where they knew he had but a slender guard. With this view, the earls of Kent and Salisbury set out from Oxford in the evening, at the head of 400 horsemen, completely armed, and arrived at Windsor next morning, January 4, but found the king had departed the preceding evening¹⁶.

The con-
spirators
punished.

The conspirators were greatly disconcerted by the king's escape. Being joined by their accomplices from Oxford, they remained about Windsor

¹⁵ T. Walsing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 224. Hall, folio 112, 12.

¹⁶ T. Walsing. p. 362. Otterbourne, p. 225.

that

Ch. I. § 1. CIVIL AND MILITARY.

A.D. 1400.

that day, and part of the next, giving out that king Richard had escaped from prison, and commanding all his subjects to repair to his standard. To procure credit to this, they made one Maudlin, a priest, personate Richard, to whom he bore a striking resemblance. Their army, it is said, increased, but their counsels were distracted; some insisting on their continuing in a body, and others on their dispersing. On a report that Henry was marching towards them at the head of 20,000 men, this last advice prevailed. The earls of Kent and Salisbury, with their followers, directed their route to Cirencester, where the two earls were assaulted in their lodgings by the inhabitants, on the night of January 6, taken prisoners, and beheaded next morning; for which barbarous, illegal deed, Henry gave them a grant of all their spoils¹⁷. The earl of Gloucester and lord Lumley were taken and beheaded by the populace at Bristol; and the earl of Huntington, who had married lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, was apprehended in Essex, committed to the tower, January 10, and five days after beheaded, with circumstances of great cruelty¹⁸. Sir Benedict Shelley, sir Bernard Brokes, and twenty-nine other knights and gentlemen, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Oxford, and others at other places¹⁹; a proper prelude to those scenes of blood and cruelty which followed in the long contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, occasioned by the fatal ambition of Henry IV.

¹⁷ Otterbourne, p. 225, 226, 227. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 130.

¹⁸ Relation de Prise de Roy, r. 11.

¹⁹ Hall, f. 13.

This

A.D. 1400.

Death of
king Ri-
chard II.

This conspiracy precipitated the doom of this unhappy Richard. For Henry, finding that he could not expect to enjoy any tranquillity on the throne while his predecessor was alive, commanded him to be taken out of the way; and this command was executed, in the castle of Pomfret, February 13, A. D. 1400; but in what manner is not certainly known. His body was brought to London, the face uncovered, and exposed to the view of all the people in every town on the way, and in St. Paul's church for three days, that all the world might know the certainty of his death²⁰.

Henry in
danger of
losing his
French
domi-
nions.

Henry had no sooner escaped this dangerous plot at home, than he was threatened with losses and dangers from abroad. The late king Richard was born at Bourdeaux, and beloved by the inhabitants of the English provinces in France; who were greatly enraged when they heard the news of his being dethroned and imprisoned. The French court, taking advantage of their discontent, earnestly solicited them to throw off the English yoke, and put themselves under the protection of France; and these solicitations at first seemed to promise success. But when the passions of the people of these provinces began to cool, and they had leisure to reflect on the different genius of the two governments, they wisely preferred the mild government of a distant sovereign to the tyrannical domination of a too powerful neighbour, whose subjects they saw most grievously oppressed. Henry

²⁰ T. Walsing. p. 363. T. Otterbourne, p. 228. Hall, l. 14. Fabian, f. 166.

confirmed them in these sentiments, by bestowing the places of power and profit on the chief noblemen of the country, and by sending Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, with a reinforcement of troops, to support the well-affected".

A. D. 1400.

The Scots preparing for an expedition into England in the summer of this year, Henry determined to prevent them, by invading their country with a powerful army. Having procured a large supply of money from the clergy and nobility in a great council, and collected a numerous army, he marched into the north, and arrived at Newcastle in the beginning of August. From thence he sent a summons to king Robert III. and all the nobility of Scotland, to meet him at Edinburgh, August 23, to do homage, and swear fealty to him as superior lord of Scotland; which, he modestly affirms, all the former kings of Scotland had done to all the former kings of England, from the days of Brute the Trojan²¹. To this summons he received a contemptuous, provoking answer, from prince David, duke of Rothsay, who was then in the castle of Edinburgh; on which he marched forward, and besieged that castle²². But he soon raised the siege, and returned into England, without having done any thing worthy of his mighty preparations.

Expedition into Scotland.

Henry's hasty retreat from Scotland was probably owing to the intelligence he had received of a new

Revolt of Owen Glendower.

²¹ Froissart, tom. 4. c. 56. Hall, f. 15. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 127, 128, 129. 141.

²² Id. ibid. p. 125. 152—157.

²³ Id. ibid. p. 158.

enemy.

A. D. 1400.

enemy. This was the famous Owen ap Griffith Vaughan, lord of Glendoudwy, commonly called *Owen Glendour*, a gentleman of a high spirit and great courage, descended from Lewellen, the last of the ancient princes of Wales. In his youth he had studied the law in the inns of court, was called to the bar, and became esquire of the body to Richard II. On the late revolution, he retired to his estate, and carried on a kind of petty war with Rigenald lord Grey of Ruthyn, about certain lands to which each of them laid claim. Henry espoused the cause of lord Grey, and issued a proclamation from Northampton, September 19, commanding all the men capable of bearing arms, in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Worcester, Salop, Stafford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Northampton, to repair immediately to his standard, to march into Wales to reduce Glendour, who was declared a rebel. Owen, on the very day after this proclamation, burnt lord Grey's town of Ruthyn, declared himself prince of Wales, and was generally acknowledged as such by his countrymen. Thus, from a private dispute, a national war commenced, which continued several years²⁴. Henry marched into Wales; but Owen retiring to the mountains, he was obliged to return without seeing an enemy.

Negotiations with France.

This whole year was spent in negotiations, between the courts of England and France; the former soliciting a peace or long truce, the latter demand-

²⁴ Carte, vol. 2. p. 649, &c. Rym. Ford. t. 8. p. 160. Walsing. p. 164. Otterbourne, p. 230.

ing

ing the restoration of the young queen Isabella, widow of Richard II. and her fortune. When Charles VI. recovered from his fits of frenzy, preparations were made for invading England; when he relapsed, the negotiations were resumed. Henry earnestly desired to retain the young queen, and procure her in marriage for his eldest son the prince of Wales. At length, however, a truce for thirty years was concluded, and the young queen restored ²⁵.

A. D. 1402.

Henry called a parliament, January 20, A. D. 1401, which granted him ample supplies ²⁶. A marriage was negotiated, and at last concluded, March 7, between Lewis of Bavaria, eldest son of the emperor of Germany, and the princess Blanch, the king's eldest daughter, with whom he gave a portion of 40,000 nobles ²⁷.

A. D. 1401.
Marriage
of Henry's
daughter.

While Henry was engaged in these works of peace, Owen Glendour, at the head of great bodies of Welsh, who now owned him for their prince, and crowded to his standard, made inroads into the English borders, plundering the country, and killing many of the inhabitants. To revenge these insults, Henry invaded Wales twice this year, in June and October: but to little purpose; the Welsh retiring at his approach, and renewing their incursions at his departure ²⁸. In one of these incursions, Glendour gained a considerable victory in Pembrokeeshire, which raised his reputation and increased his followers.

War with
Wales.

²⁵ Rym. Fœd. p. 145. 153.

²⁶ Cotton, p. 405.

²⁷ Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 179.

²⁸ Vita R. II. p. 174, &c. Rym. Fœd. p. 325.

Henry

A. D. 1401.

A plot.

Henry was not only harassed by this revolt of the Welsh, but exposed to the dark attempts of domestic traitors. By one of these he was in great danger of losing his life, towards the end of this year. An instrument of steel, with three long and sharp points, was concealed in his bed, that when he lay down one of them might run into his body; but he fortunately perceived it, and escaped the danger. The author of this plot could never be discovered²⁹.

A. D. 1402.

War in
Wales.

The revolt of Owen Glendour appeared more formidable than ever in the spring of this year. The Welsh students in the universities and inns of court, the apprentices in London and other towns, and even the common artificers and labourers, returned into Wales, to join his standard, in hopes of recovering the long-lost independency of their country. Owen took the field early, engaged and defeated his ancient antagonist the lord Grey, and made him prisoner³⁰. Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young earl of March, collecting all the friends and vassals of that family, to prevent the devastation of their lands, made up an army of 12,000 men; with which he engaged Glendour, June 22, near Knighton in Radnorshire; but was defeated, and taken prisoner, and 1100 of his men slain³¹. Though Henry was not ill pleased at the captivity of Mortimer, he was alarmed at the progress of Glendour, and issued a proclamation to all the military tenants of the crown, except those in

²⁹ Walling. p. 364. Otterbourne, p. 232.³⁰ Vita R. II. p. 177, 178.³¹ Otterbourne, p. 235.

the

the northern counties, to meet him at Shrewsbury August 27, to march with him against the rebels in Wales²². He divided his army into three bodies; gave the command of one to his eldest son Henry prince of Wales, of another to the earl of Arundel, reserving the command of the third to himself. They entered Wales at three different places, to surround the Welsh army, and prevent their escape. But the Welsh kept on the mountains, and avoided an engagement; and the English armies were so distressed by the scarcity of provisions, and incessant rains (raised, say the contemporary historians, by the necromancy of Owen Glendour), that they were obliged to return, without effecting any thing of importance²³.

Henry's affairs succeeded better in another quarter, where he was not present. About Whitson-tide this year, rumours were circulated with great industry, chiefly by the Franciscan friars, that king Richard was alive, had made his escape into Scotland, and would come from thence in a few weeks, at the head of an army, to recover his crown. These rumours seem to have given Henry great uneasiness. He published proclamation after proclamation, declaring them to be false, and threatening death to all who dared to spread them; and several persons, particularly sir Roger Clarendon, with his squire and valet, and eleven priests and friars, were executed for spreading these false reports²⁴. Agreeable to these reports, a body of

²² Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 271.

²³ Otterbourne, p. 236. T. Walsing. p. 365.

²⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 255. 261. Otterbourne, p. 234.

A. D. 1402.

10,000 Scots, commanded by Archibald earl of Douglas, entered England in July, publishing as they advanced, that king Richard was with them, and inviting all his subjects to join them; which seems to have had little effect³⁵. They pushed their destructive ravages beyond Newcastle: but on their return, they were met by an army collected in the northern counties, commanded by Henry earl of Northumberland and other barons, at Homildon-hill, near Wooller. There, on Holyrood day, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots were defeated by the superior dexterity of the English archers. The earl of Douglas, observing that his men could not stand the showers of arrows poured in upon them, alighted from his horse, seized a pike, and trusting to the goodness of his armour, followed by several other lords and gentlemen, rushed into the thickest of the English archers; where he was overpowered, and taken prisoner, together with the earls of Fife, Murray, Angus, and Orkney, the lords Montgomery, Erskine, and Innernethy, and about eighty knights³⁶. The lord Gordon, sir John Swinton, with about eighty other knights and gentlemen, and a considerable number of common people, were killed³⁷.

No prisoners
to be
ransomed.

Henry was transported with joy at the news of this victory, and sent the strictest commands to the earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, commonly called *Hotspur*, his son, George Dunbar, earl of March in Scotland (who had revolted to the

³⁵ Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 261.

³⁶ Otterbourne, p. 236, 237. Walsing. p. 366.

³⁷ Id. *ibid*.

English),

English), and to other barons, not to ransom any of their prisoners, without his particular permission³⁸: a command which was not very agreeable to those who received it, and which some of them refused to obey.

A. D. 1402.



The earl of Northumberland, and his valiant son Hotspur, in particular, who had been the chief instruments of gaining this great victory over the Scots, and even of raising the duke of Lancaster to the throne, were not a little disgusted at the peremptory tone of that command. They had also some other causes of discontent. Sir Edmund Mortimer was their near relation; and though they had made frequent applications, they never could obtain permission to treat with Glendour about his ransom; because Henry both feared and hated the house of Mortimer, on account of their pretensions to the crown. Thomas Percy earl of Worcester, brother to the earl of Northumberland, had been much beloved and favoured by the late king Richard; and though he had also been honoured and employed by Henry, he still retained a secret indignation against him for the murder of his former master. These noblemen, by communicating their complaints, inflamed each others passions, and at length resolved to exert all their power and influence to dethrone Henry, and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March, the lineal heir. They communicated their design to their prisoner, the earl of Douglas, and granted him his liberty, on condition of his joining them with his followers;

A. D. 1403.

Conspiracy of the earls of Northumberland, Worcester, &c.

³⁸ Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 278.

A.D. 1403.

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to which he consented. They also admitted into their confederacy Owen Glendour, and his prisoner sir Edmund Mortimer, who agreed to join them with 10,000 men, as soon as they approached the confines of Wales³⁹.

Take
arms.

If this plot had been executed with as much prudence as it was planned, it would probably have deprived Henry of his crown, which cost him so much guilt and labour to acquire. But the precipitancy of Hotspur, and the too great caution or timidity of his father, disconcerted all their measures. The earl of Douglas having joined young Percy about the beginning of July, they marched forward to meet their Welsh confederates, the earl of Northumberland promising to follow them immediately with a great body of men: a promise which he did not perform in proper time. They were joined by the earl of Worcester, and his followers, at Stafford⁴⁰. When they arrived at Shrewsbury, and were about to invest that town, they were surprised at the appearance of the royal army, which had been collected with great expedition; the Scotch earl of March vehemently pressing Henry to prevent the increase and junction of his enemies, by the celerity of his motions⁴¹. On July 26, when the two armies were in sight of each other, the earl of Worcester sent a kind of manifesto to Henry, full of the bitterest invectives, accusing him,—of many acts of perjury,—of the murder of king Richard,—of the usurpation of the

³⁹ Otterbourne, p. 239, &c. T. Walsing. p. 367, &c.

⁴⁰ Hall, f. 37.

⁴¹ Otterbourne, p. 241.

crown

crown from the true heir, the earl of March,—and of various other crimes⁴². This inflammatory paper put an end to all hopes of accommodation; and both parties prepared for battle against next day.

A. D. 1403.

On the morning of July 21, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, on the plains of Hartlefield, near Shrewsbury. The Scots, commanded by the valiant earl of Douglas, began the action by so furious an attack on the van of the royal army, that it was thrown into disorder, and its leader, the young earl of Stafford, slain. King Henry, who commanded the main body of his army, advanced with great rapidity with a reinforcement; which encouraged his troops to rally and repel the enemy. In a little time the battle became general, and raged with uncommon fury. Each of the armies consisted of about 14,000 of the best troops in Britain. The leaders on both sides were equally brave, fired with the most violent animosity, and fought for their fortunes, honours, and lives, which rendered the conflict exceedingly fierce and obstinate. The king displayed the most consummate prudence as a general, and the most undaunted courage as a soldier, killing, as it is said, a great number of his enemies with his own hand. He was nobly supported by his son, the prince of Wales, who (though he was wounded in the face at the beginning of the action) gave a specimen of that intrepidity which afterwards acquired him so much glory. On the other side, young Hotspur and the earl of Douglas are said to have performed

Battle of
Shrews-
bury.

⁴² Hall, 21, 22.

A.D. 1403.

prodigies of valour. Victory hovered over the two armies about three hours, sometimes seeming to incline to the one, and sometimes to the other. At length Hotspur being killed by an unknown hand, his troops were quite dispirited, and fled with great precipitation, leaving almost one half of their companions, killed, wounded, or prisoners. The loss of the royal army, in killed and wounded, was also very great. The earl of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and sir Richard Vernon, having been taken, were beheaded two days after the battle. The earl of Douglas was also taken; but was treated with all becoming civility and respect⁴³.

The earl of Northumberland disbanded his army.

The earl of Northumberland, recovered from a real or feigned indisposition, was far advanced on his march, with a body of men, to join the confederates, when he received the melancholy news of their defeat, and of the death of his heroic son Hotspur, and of his brother the earl of Worcester. Quite dispirited by these great disasters, he disbanded his little army, and retired to his castle of Warkworth in Northumberland⁴⁴.

Northumberland pardoned.

After Henry had obtained this great victory, he marched northward, and, by prohibiting his troops and subjects from plundering those who had been engaged in the late rebellion, and offering pardon to all who submitted to his authority, and took an oath required of them, he quieted the minds of the people, and restored the tranquillity of the coun-

⁴³ T. Walsing: p. 368, 369. Otterbourne, p. 243, 244. Hall, fol. 23, 24.

⁴⁴ Otterbourne, p. 244. T. Walsing: p. 369.

try.

try⁴⁵. The earl of Northumberland, encouraged by the gentleness of these measures, came to York, August 11, threw himself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy. Henry, greatly incensed at the earl's late behaviour, which had endangered his crown and life, received him with a frown: but soon recollecting his former services, and commiserating his fallen state, he granted him his life; and a few months after, he restored him to his honours and estate, depriving him only of the Isle of Man, and the government of Berwick, and some other places of strength⁴⁶.

A. D. 1403.

Though Henry had been so fortunate as to suppress this dangerous rebellion in a little time, he was still surrounded with many enemies, and exposed to many dangers. The French were raising one army, under the duke of Burgundy, to besiege Calais, and another, under the duke of Orleans, to invade Guienne, while a body of their troops actually landed in the Isle of Wight, and an army of Britons plundered and burnt Plymouth⁴⁷. The Scots were watching an opportunity to invade the north; Owen Glendour was at the head of a great army in Wales; much discontent reigned amongst his English subjects; and his exchequer was so exhausted, that he was obliged to disband his army for want of money⁴⁸. But all these clouds were dispelled by Henry's prudence and good fortune,

A. D. 1404.
Henry's
dangers
and de-
liverances.

⁴⁵ Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 320, 321, 322.

⁴⁶ T. Walsing. p. 369. Otterbourne, p. 245.

⁴⁷ Histoire de France, par M. Vilar, tom. 22. p. 404. T. Walsing, p. 369.

⁴⁸ Id. ibid.

A. D. 1404.

and the discord and folly of his enemies. The violent animosity which reigned between the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans disconcerted all the schemes of France; Owen Glendour spent his time chiefly in establishing his authority in Wales, and forming an alliance with the French court; the Scots were amused with negotiations; and the English malcontents vented their spleen in secret murmurs and trifling plots; while Henry replenished his exchequer, by holding two parliaments this year, one at Westminster in January, and another at Coventry in October, from each of which he obtained large supplies; and by various other means ⁴⁹.

A. D. 1405.
Rebellion
of the
archbi-
shop of
York, &c.

The discontents of the English daily increased; and a dangerous conspiracy was formed, in the beginning of this year, by Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, Thomas Mowbray earl marshal, Thomas lord Bardolph, and many others, to dethrone Henry and place the crown on the head of the young earl of March. When their plot, as they imagined, was ripe for execution, the archbishop published a manifesto, accusing Henry of perjury, murder, usurpation, tyranny, and many other crimes, declaring him excommunicated, promising the pardon of sin, and a place in heaven, to all who assisted in dethroning him, and denouncing damnation on all who dared to support him ⁵⁰. This manifesto pro-

⁴⁹ Villar, tom. 12. p. 404. Rym. Fœd. tom. 8: p. 356. 363. 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, T. Walsing. p. 369, 370.

⁵⁰ Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 362.

duced

A. D. 1405.

duced a great effect; and when the archbishop erected his standard at York, such multitudes crowded to it, that he soon found himself at the head of an army of 15,000 men, with which he encamped on Shipton-moor, May 9, expecting to be soon joined by the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and their followers⁵¹.

Rebellion
suppressed.

This sudden and formidable insurrection made a mighty noise. Henry, who was then at London, collected all the forces he could, and marched northward: his third son, John of Lancaster, and Ralph Nevil earl of Westmoreland, raised a little army in great haste, with which they approached the insurgents. But the earl, finding them much stronger than he expected, had recourse to art, and employed a stratagem, which had its full effect. He sent a messenger to the archbishop and the earl marshal, demanding the reason of their appearing in arms, and wishing to know their complaints and their desires, that, if they were reasonable, they might be granted, and the effusion of blood prevented. The archbishop and earl sent him a schedule of their demands, which were probably much lower than those in the late manifesto. Whatever they were, Westmoreland pretended to be pleased with them, and requested that a conference might be held by an equal number of the chiefs of both parties in the middle between the two armies. The earl marshal discovered a reluctance to comply with this request, suspecting that some treachery was intended; but at length yielded to the earnest

⁵¹ Walling. p. 373. Otterbourne, p. 255.

A. D. 1405.

intreaties of the archbishop. At the conference, Westmoreland acted his part with such dexterity, that he banished all suspicion from the minds of the confederated chiefs; he approved, with the greatest seeming sincerity, of the several articles of the treaty, and solemnly swore to procure the king's ratification of it. When this important business was concluded, he called for wine, and proposed, that the chiefs of the opposite parties should embrace, and drink together, in sight of both armies, to convince them, that a perfect reconciliation had taken place. When they were drinking, the earl suggested to the prelate, that it was no longer necessary to keep their armies together, and that therefore each of them should send a messenger to his troops, to acquaint them that a peace was made, and to give them leave to depart immediately to their own homes. The archbishop, who was as credulous as he was sincere, sent the message proposed, which was obeyed: the earl sent a similar message, but by one who understood his meaning; and it was not delivered. When Westmoreland observed the insurgents dispersing, and in confusion, he threw off the mask, and made the archbishop, the earl marshal, and all their friends, who had come with them to the conference, prisoners, by a party of his own men, who came up at that moment for that purpose. As soon as this news reached the remains of the confederate army, every one consulted his own safety, and fled with the greatest precipitation ⁵².

⁵² This singular transaction seems to be one of the best subjects for tragedy in the English history.

The

The noble prisoners, who had been thus artfully ensnared, were conducted, first to Pomfret, where the king arrived with his army, June 3, and then to York, where sir William Fulthorp, who was constituted chief justice of the king's-bench for that purpose, pronounced a sentence of death on the archbishop, June 8, and he was beheaded the same day, with many circumstances of mean and wanton cruelty, which he bore with the greatest patience and composure⁵³. The earl marshal and the other prisoners shared the same fate⁵⁴.

Henry, having punished the people of York for their attachment to their late archbishop, by depriving their city of all its privileges, marched, at the head of 37,000 men, in pursuit of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and other insurgents in the north⁵⁵. At Durham he commanded the lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir John Colville of the Deal, and sir John Griffith, who had been in the insurrection at York, to be beheaded⁵⁶. The earl of Northumberland, lord Bardolph, and their followers, unable to make head against so great a force, took shelter in Berwick, and not thinking themselves safe there, they delivered the town to the Scots, and put a garrison of their own people into the castle, and fled into Scotland to the lord Fleming, by whom they were kindly received and entertained⁵⁷. The Scots, not thinking the town of Berwick tenable, set it on

The north reduced.

⁵³ T. Walsing. p. 373.

⁵⁴ Anglia Sacra, p. 370.

⁵⁵ T. Walsing. p. 374.

⁵⁶ Hall, f. 251.

⁵⁷ Otterbourne, p. 256, 257.

A.D. 1405.

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fire, and marched home. The garrison in the castle attempted to defend themselves; but one of the towers being demolished by the shot of a great cannon, they were obliged to surrender at discretion; and the governor (son to the lord of Greystock), and all the chief men, were beheaded⁵⁸. In his return southward, the king reduced the castles of Alnwick and Warkworth, without much difficulty. When he arrived at Pomfret, August 10, he made a grant of several great estates of the earl of Northumberland, the lord Bardolph, and the late earl marshal, to his own queen⁵⁹.

Transac-
tions in
Wales.

Henry had sent his eldest son, the prince of Wales, in the spring of this year, before the troubles in the north broke out, with a small army, against Owen Glendour; and that heroic prince defeated a much superior army of the Welsh, March 11, near Grosmont in Monmouthshire⁶⁰. But a French fleet of 140 sail arrived at Milford-haven, and landed an army of 12,000 men, which made affairs in Wales take a different turn. Glendour, with the assistance of his French allies, besieged and took Cairmarden, which made Henry hasten his return from the north⁶¹. When he arrived at Hereford with his army, September 4, he issued a proclamation, representing, that the kingdom was exposed to great danger, by the junction of the French and Welsh—that his treasures were exhausted by his expedition into the north—that the tenths and fifteenths granted by parliament could not be levied

⁵⁸ Otterbourne, p. 256, 257.⁵⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 408.⁶⁰ Id. ibid. p. 390. ⁶¹ T. Walsing. p. 374. Otterbourne, p. 258.

till

till Martinmas—that he stood in need of a great sum of money immediately, to enable him to march into Wales; and commanding the sheriffs to call before them the richest men in their several counties, and prevail upon them to advance money on the credit of the tenths and fifteenths⁶². Retarded by this want of money, and other obstacles, he did not enter Wales till about the middle of October; and the season proving uncommonly rainy, the roads impracticable, and provisions scarce, he was obliged to return, without effecting any thing, having lost fifty waggons, containing the most valuable part of his baggage⁶³. About the same time, Glendour's French auxiliaries returned into their own country. Before Henry set out on his expedition into Wales, he granted the Isle of Man to sir William Stanley, in whose posterity it still, in some respects, remains⁶⁴.

A. D. 1403.

Though the earl of Northumberland, and his friend the lord Bardolph, had been obliged to fly into Scotland, Henry still dreaded their influence and resentment, and ardently desired to have their persons in his possession. With this view, he proposed to several noblemen of Scotland, who had been his prisoners ever since the battles of Homildon and Shrewsbury, to grant them their liberty, if they would prevail upon their friends to seize and deliver up the two English exiles. These noblemen, weary of their long confinement, entered into his views, and communicated them to their friends, who undertook to accomplish what they desired.

A. D. 1406.
Northumberland
and Bardolph fly
into Wales.

⁶² Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 412.

⁶³ Otterbourne, p. 258.

⁶⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 8. p. 420.

But

A.D. 1406.

But this design having reached the ears of the lord Fleming, he imparted it to his noble guests, who made their escape into Wales, and joined Glendour, with whom they had kept up a constant correspondence⁶⁵.

Though all the schemes that had been formed for dethroning Henry had miscarried, the nation was still full of malcontents, who earnestly wished his fall. Reports were propagated from time to time, that king Richard was alive in Scotland, and would soon return to reclaim his crown; and these reports, however improbable, were believed by many⁶⁶. The remonstrances of parliament contained bitter complaints of his exactions and misgovernment. Sir John Tibetot, speaker of the house of commons, in a speech addressed to the throne, said—that the kingdom was impoverished by excessive impositions, and nothing done for its benefit—that ninety-six towns and castles were lost in Guienne, and the rest in danger—that Ireland was almost lost, though much money had been given for its defence—that the marches towards Scotland were in a bad condition—the rebellion in Wales still continued—the sea was ill guarded, and the merchants ruined—the expences of the household were excessive, and the court filled with a set of worthless rascals⁶⁷. Henry heard these angry speeches with perfect composure, and pursued his own measures; he had even the art to procure a large supply from that very parliament.

⁶⁵ T. Walsing. p. 375.⁶⁶ Otterbourne, p. 261.⁶⁷ Parliament. Hist. A. D. 1406.

The

The war against Glendour was this year conducted by the prince of Wales, with spirit, but with no great success. He compelled the garrison in the strong castle of Aberystwith to agree to surrender it against a certain day; but before that day arrived, Glendour turned out that garrison, and put another in its place⁶⁸.

A. D. 1406.
War in
Wales.

To the calamities of intestine war, which had disquieted England for several years, the miseries of a destructive pestilence were now added. This plague raged with great violence in London, where it carried off 30,000 persons; and with greater violence in the country, where it extirpated whole families, and left many houses empty⁶⁹.

A. D. 1407.
Pestilence.

As the plague was most destructive in and near London, the king and court removed from thence, and resided some part of the summer at the castle of Leeds in Kent. Desiring to be at a greater distance from the capital, the king took shipping at Queenborough in the Isle of Sheppey, escorted by a small squadron, commanded by Thomas lord Camois. This little squadron was attacked at the mouth of the Thames by a fleet of French pirates, who took four of the ships, containing several persons of rank, and much valuable furniture; and the king escaped with great difficulty, by the swift sailing of his ship. The lord Camois was tried by his peers in Westminster-hall, for treachery or cowardice, and honourably acquitted⁷⁰.

The king
almost
taken by
pirates.

⁶⁸ Outerbourne, p. 261.

⁶⁹ T. Walling. p. 376.

⁷⁰ Hall, f. 26.

The

A. D. 1407.

Murder of
the duke of
Orleans.

The implacable animosity which had long reigned between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and which alone had prevented the loss of all the possessions of the English in France, came to a crisis this year, and terminated in the murder of the former, in the streets of Paris, by assassins hired and instigated by the latter, who avowed and vindicated the atrocious deed⁷¹. This threw the kingdom of France into the most deplorable disorders, which continued many years, and brought it to the brink of ruin.

A. D. 1408.

Battle of
Bramham-
moor.

The earl of Northumberland and lord Bardolph, perceiving the affairs of Glendour on the decline, and having received some encouraging intelligence from the north, left Wales, and returned into Scotland, where they had many friends who pitied their misfortunes. Here they collected a little army, with which they entered England, and recovered some of the earl's castles in Northumberland. Encouraged by this success, and by a secret correspondence (as it is said) with sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, they advanced into that county, with a few attendants, in hopes that the whole country would join them. When they reached Thirsk, they set up their standard, and published a manifesto, enumerating Henry's crimes, and calling upon all who loved their country to come and assist them in dethroning the murderer of his sovereign and usurper of the crown. Being joined by several gentlemen and their followers, they marched forward, and passed the Wherfe at

⁷¹ Villar. *Histoire de France*, tom. 12. p. 479, &c.

Wether-

Wetherby. If sir Thomas Rokeby ever corresponded with the two lords, it must have been only with an intention to ensnare them. For he had now collected a considerable army, with which he attended all their motions, and brought them to an action, February 19, on Bramham-moor near Haselwood, in which the earl of Northumberland was killed, and the lord Bardolph mortally wounded, and died a few days after⁷². The bodies of these two noblemen were dismembered, and their heads and limbs set up at London and other places⁷³.

A. D. 1408.

Henry was on his march northward, when he received the agreeable news of the victory at Bramham-moor, and the fall of his two most dangerous enemies. He arrived at Pomfret April 8, and resided there about a month, engaged in trying and punishing some of the unhappy persons who had been engaged in the late insurrection, and in collecting money, by compounding with others for their delinquency. Amongst those who were capitally punished, was the abbot of Hayles, because he had been taken in arms⁷⁴. Having, by a prudent mixture of mercy and severity, reduced the northern and most disaffected parts of the kingdom to submission, he returned to London.

Transactions in the north.

The suppression of so many rebellions, with the ruin of those who had been concerned in them, at length dispirited Henry's enemies, and disposed them to submit to a government which they could not overturn. Glendour indeed was still unsubdued;

A. D. 1409.
Reduction of the Welsh.

⁷² Otterbourne, p. 261, 262. T. Walsing. p. 377.

⁷³ Id. *ibid*.

⁷⁴ Otterbourne, p. 263.

but

A. D. 1409.

but he was so much weakened by the destruction of his confederates and the defection of his followers, that he was no longer to be dreaded. In the summer of this year, he made a last effort, by sending the greatest part of his followers, under the command of two of his bravest partizans, Rees Ap Du and Philpot Scudamore, to ravage Shropshire. This they executed with great ferocity; but they were at last defeated, many of them killed, their two leaders taken, conducted to London, and there executed. The Welsh, now despairing of being able to maintain their independency, abandoned their new prince, and quietly submitted to the English government. Glendour skulked about the country several years, under several disguises, and at length died at his daughter's house, at Monington in Herefordshire, September 20, A. D. 1415.

A. D. 1410,
to

A. D. 1413.

Transac-
tions on
the con-
tinent.

England and Wales being now reduced to a state of perfect submission and tranquillity, Henry had leisure to turn his attention to his foreign dominions, which he had hitherto been obliged, in a great measure, to neglect. Fortunately for him, the distractions of the French, which had been even greater than those of the English, had prevented them from taking advantage of this neglect. The divisions and party-rage of the French were greatly inflamed by the murder of the duke of Orleans; and at length broke out into a cruel and bloody civil war, between the duke of Burgundy and his party, on one side, and the young duke of Orleans, his father-in-law, the earl of Armagnac, and their partizans, on the other. Though a truce then subsisted

subsisted between England and France, both parties earnestly solicited Henry's friendship and assistance; and he sent the earl of Arundel, with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, to the duke of Burgundy, who, with the aid of these succours, got possession of Paris, A. D. 1411⁷⁵. The Armagnacs (as they were called), dreading the consequences of this connection between their enemies and the king of England, entered into a negotiation with Henry, offering him the restitution of all that he had lost in Guienne, and other advantages, for his assistance⁷⁶. Tempted by these offers, or perhaps with a view to prolong the civil war, he concluded a treaty with that party, May 18, A. D. 1412, and engaged to send them an aid of 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers⁷⁷. Henry seems to have had some intention to conduct and command these troops in person; but being prevented by sickness, or some other cause, he appointed his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, now created duke of Clarence, their general⁷⁸. In the mean time, the king of France, the unhappy Charles VI. having recovered from one of those fits of frenzy with which he was frequently seized, was so much enraged at the Armagnacs, for their design of introducing so great a body of English troops into the kingdom, that he joined the duke of Burgundy, and besieged the duke of Berry, one of the chiefs of that party, in Bourges. While the assailants pushed the siege with great vigour, and the besieged defended

A. D. 1410,
to
A. D. 1413.

⁷⁵ T. Walsing. p. 380.

⁷⁷ Id. *ibid.* p. 733.

⁷⁶ Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 715, 716, 718.

⁷⁸ Id. *ibid.* p. 733, 745.

A. D. 1410,
to
A. D. 1413. themselves with great valour, they both suffered extremely, by the sword, famine, and diseases; at the same time, they were both anxious about the English, the one dreading that they would arrive too soon, and the other that they would arrive too late. These circumstances first gave rise to wishes, and then to proposals, of peace; of which both parties being equally desirous, it was soon concluded. By one article of this treaty, both parties renounced all their alliances and connections with the English ⁷⁹.

Expedition
into
France.

About the time this treaty was concluded, the duke of Clarence, with a considerable army, landed at La Hogue in Normandy, to the assistance of the Armagnacs. For some days the English army behaved in a quiet and orderly manner; but when they heard of the pacification of Bourges, they gave loose reins to their fury, and spread ruin and desolation wherever they appeared. After they had done much mischief and collected much booty, they were prevailed upon to desist from hostilities, and retire into Guienne, by a promise of 320,000 crowns; for the payment of which the duke of Orleans gave his brother and some other noblemen hostages ⁸⁰.

A. D. 1413.
Death of
Henry IV.

This was the last important transaction in the reign of Henry IV. Though that prince was still in the prime of life, he had for some time been in a precarious state of health, afflicted with frequent

⁷⁹ Histoire de la France, par Villar, t. 13. p. 212, 213.

⁸⁰ T. Walsing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

sits,

fits, which deprived him of all sensation, and seemed to threaten him with immediate death. He was seized with one of these fits as he was at his devotion in St. Edward's chapel, Westminster; and being carried into the abbot's lodgings, he there expired, March 20, A. D. 1413, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign²¹.

A. D. 1413.

Few princes ever sat more uneasy on a throne than Henry IV. In the first eight years of his reign he was harassed with almost incessant plots and insurrections; and though he enjoyed more external tranquillity in the latter part of it, he was not more happy, possessing neither health of body nor peace of mind. The great qualities of his eldest son, which ought to have given him joy, filled him with jealousy and suspicion; and the frolicsome, disorderly conduct of that prince, when he was excluded from business, gave him no less vexation. He was much disquieted with remorse for those crimes which paved his way to the throne; nor was he without other causes of chagrin. In a word, few of his subjects had reason to envy the happiness of their sovereign.

His unhappiness.

Henry IV. was, in stature, a little below the middle size, but robust and well made. He excelled in all the martial and manly exercises of his times; and his courage was at once calm and undaunted. His head was better than his heart; his schemes being formed with prudence, and generally

His character.

²¹ T. Walsing. p. 382. Otterbourne, p. 271, 272.

A. D. 1413. successful, but not always innocent, and seldom generous. As jealous as he was fond of power, he stuck at nothing to obtain and keep it; and was not very prone to pardon those who attempted to deprive him of it. From policy more than principle, he protected the church and persecuted heretics. Ambition was his ruling passion; and that, impelled by a violent gale of popular favour, hurried him into a throne, which involved him in many crimes and cares, and his country in many calamities. He would have been both a better and happier man, if he had never been a king. Henry, by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, one of the co-heiresses of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, had four sons and two daughters, viz. Henry, who succeeded him in the throne, Thomas, duke of Clarence, John, duke of Bedford, Humphry, duke of Gloucester, Blanche, duchess of Bavaria, and Philippa, queen of Denmark. By his second wife, Jane, duchess of Brittany, he had no issue.

SECTION II.

From the accession of Henry V. A. D. 1413, to the accession of Henry VI. A. D. 1422.

Henry V.
crowned.

HENRY V. was proclaimed, at London, March 21, and crowned at Westminster, April 9, A. D. 1413; and whatever objections might have been made to his title, no prince ever mounted a throne more peaceably, and few with greater

greater applause¹. His father, Henry IV. had lost all his popularity long before his death, which made the news of that event, and of his son's succession, to be received with joy.

A. D. 1413.

The joy of the people of England on this occasion would have been more complete, if they had not entertained some suspicions concerning the character of their new king. That prince, in a very early period of life, had given proofs that he was possessed of a good understanding, great courage, activity, generosity, and other virtues, which made him the object of the people's love and of his father's jealousy; but for four or five years before his accession, having no opportunity of exercising his military talents in the field, and being quite excluded from the cabinet, his vivacity, and other youthful passions, betrayed him into a disorderly course of life. Many of his irregularities were the mere effects of wit and gaiety of heart, and occasioned only laughter; but some of them wore a more unfavourable aspect, being direct violations of the law, and insults on its most respectable ministers. For disorders of this nature, it is said, he was twice put under confinement, first by sir W. Gascoigne, chief justice of England, and afterwards by John Hornsby, mayor of Coventry. But even these last were the effects of wantonness rather than of malice; and he submitted to the correction which they brought upon him in a manner which did him honour².

His youthful frolics,

¹ Rym. Feed. tom. 9. p. 1.; T. Walsing. p. 382.

² Thom. de Elmham, Vita Henrici V. Oxon. A. D. 1727, p. 32.; Hall, f. 1.; Append. ad Forduni Scotichron. p. 1444.

A. D. 1413.

His change
of conduct.

The fears of the people of England concerning the character of their king were soon dispelled. The moment Henry V. ascended the throne, he became (to use the words of the contemporary historians) a new man. Determined to change his course of life, he dismissed the licentious companions of his former riots, with marks of his bounty, but with strict commands never to approach his person, till they had given sufficient evidence of their amendment³. He sought out, honoured, and employed men of virtue and abilities; and none met with so favourable a reception from him as the chief justice, who had committed him to prison, and others who had offended him, by the faithful discharge of their duty, in his father's reign. Remembering the kindness with which he had been treated by the unhappy Richard II. in whose court he had been educated, he removed the body of that prince, with great funeral pomp, from Langley to Westminster⁴. The earl of March, who had been kept in a kind of confinement during the late reign, was set at liberty, and treated with an unsuspicious frankness, which effectually gained his heart. Commiserating the fallen fortunes of the noble family of Northumberland, which had long been the bulwark of the northern borders, he procured the deliverance of the young heir of that family from his captivity in Scotland, and restored him to the estates and honours of his ancestors⁵. In a word, Henry V. on his accession

³ T. Walsing. p. 382. Hall, f. 1. Hen. V.⁴ Id. f. 2. Stow, p. 345.⁵ Holingshed, p. 345.

to the throne, displayed all the virtues of a great and good king, except that of respecting the rights of conscience in matters of religion; which was not believed to be a virtue in the age in which he flourished.

A.D. 1413.

The cruel intolerant spirit of the church of Rome, to which all the Christian world was then enslaved, excited the first disturbances in this reign. The disciples of Wickliff, who were called *Lollards*, had been cruelly persecuted, but still increased; and were now become so formidable, that they threatened the clergy with a diminution of their power and opulence. To prevent this, Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, determined to crush that dreaded and detested sect, by inflicting capital punishments on its most considerable members. With this view he obtained permission from the king to prosecute sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham, for heresy; who being apprehended and tried, was sweetly and modestly (words used in the record) condemned, October 10, by the archbishop, to be burnt alive; and delivered to the secular arm for that purpose⁶. But he had the good fortune to make his escape out of the Tower before the day appointed for his execution, and fled into Wales, where he concealed himself more than four years⁷.

Condemnation of lord Cobham.

It is highly probable that lord Cobham was much exasperated against the clergy for having doomed him to such a painful death, and that he was not a little displeased with the king (whose fa-

A.D. 1414. Commotion of lord Cobham and the Lollards.

⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 61-66.⁷ Bale, fol. 43.

A.D. 1414.

your he had merited by his services) for having abandoned him to the will of his enemies; but it may be justly doubted, whether he carried his resentment so far as to form the criminal and cruel schemes imputed to him by the clergy, and believed by the king. These schemes are said to have been, to surprise the king at Eltham, where he kept his Christmas, and to put him, his three brothers, and all the principal clergy of the kingdom, to death⁸. All we know with certainty is, that a considerable number of Lollards assembled in St. Giles's fields, in the night of January 6, A. D. 1414; that they were there surprised by the king, who had received intelligence of their meeting; that some of them were taken and executed; and that a proclamation was issued, January 9, promising a reward of 1000 marks to any one who should apprehend sir John Oldcastle, lord Cobham⁹. In that proclamation, the procurement of the assembly in St. Giles's fields, and the intention of killing the king, are imputed to lord Cobham; but with what justice it is impossible to determine. It is not known whether he was in that assembly or not: if he was in it, he made his escape; for he was not apprehended till about four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as a heretic¹⁰.

Henry
thinks of
claiming
the crown
of France.

France was at this time a scene of the most deplorable disorder. The unhappy Charles VI. seldom enjoying so much reason as to be fit for

⁸ Elmham, p. 30. Tit. Livii, p. 6, 7. T. Walsing. p. 385, 386.

⁹ Id. ibid. Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 89.

¹⁰ Walsing. Ypod. Neust. p. 591.

govern-

government, the kingdom was torn in pieces by the two furious factions of Burgundy and Orleans; private wars were carried on between the nobility of the different parties in every province; towns were taken and reduced to ashes; the open country desolated by fire and sword; and the one half of the nation seemed determined to exterminate the other¹¹. These circumstances, it is probable, encouraged Henry V. to think of claiming the crown of France, and attempting the conquest of that kingdom.

A. D. 1414.

This claim, it must be confessed, was not very well founded on any supposition. If the French doctrine of succession prevailed, viz. That a female could neither inherit the crown of France, nor transmit a title to it to her male posterity, Henry had no shadow of right; if the English doctrine advanced by Edward III. prevailed, viz. That though a female could not inherit the crown of France, she could transmit a title to it to her male posterity; still Henry had no right, because this kind of right was evidently in the earl of March, transmitted from queen Isabella to her son Edward III. and from him to the earl of March, by Philippa, only child of Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John duke of Lancaster, from whom Henry derived all his rights. But the princes of the house of Lancaster, when they had usurped the throne of England from the family of March, seem to have considered that family as extinct, and

That claim
not well
founded.

¹¹ *Histoire de France, par Villar, tom. 13. p. 299—336.*

all

A. D. 1414. all its rights transferred to them; and it may be observed in general, that ambitious princes are not the most scrupulous casuists when a crown is in question, and seems to be within their reach.

Prepara-
tions for
war.

Though Henry had certainly formed the design of invading France soon after his accession, he artfully concealed that design as long as possible from those he intended to invade. With this view he sought the princess Katharine, the youngest daughter of the king of France, in marriage, with great seeming earnestness, and carried on constant negotiations for a long truce or a perpetual peace. But he took effectual care that these negotiations should not succeed, by rising in his demands as the French advanced in their concessions¹². In the mean time he was eagerly engaged in making preparations of all kinds for his intended expedition¹³. A parliament, which met this year, granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, besides the lands of all the alien priories in England, to the number of 110, and he received a valuable free gift from the clergy¹⁴. He borrowed from all who could be prevailed upon to lend, pawning his jewels, and even his crown, to procure money¹⁵. With much diligence he collected troops, arms, provisions, ships, and every thing necessary¹⁶.

¹² Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 88—261.

¹³ Id. ibid. p. 261. Elmham, ch. 15. p. 29. T. Livii, p. 6. T. Walsing. p. 387.

¹⁴ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 137, &c.

¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 257. 263. 271. 284, 285, 286.

¹⁶ Id. ibid. p. 249—288. Elmham, c. 18. p. 34, 35, 36.

When

When all things were ready, at Southampton, July 28, Henry threw off the mask, by rejecting all the offers of the French ambassadors, and putting an end to negotiation. While the troops were embarking, a surprising discovery was made of a conspiracy against the king, by some of his nearest relations and greatest favourites; particularly Richard earl of Cambridge, son to the duke of York, Henry lord Scrope of Masham, treasurer and chief confidant of his royal master, and sir Thomas Grey of Heton in Northumberland. The design of the conspirators, according to the confession of the earl of Cambridge, was to carry the earl of March, whose sister he had married, into Wales, and there proclaim him king, in hopes that the people of those parts would join his standard and support his cause ¹⁷. The three chief conspirators were tried in a very summary manner, condemned, and executed. The earl of March, to whom the project had been communicated, and who probably revealed it to the king, was pardoned ¹⁸.

A. D. 1415.
Conspiracy.

Henry, having appointed his brother John duke of Bedford regent of England, sailed from Southampton, 13th August, with a gallant army of 6000 men at arms, and 24,000 archers, and arrived next day on the coast of France, about nine miles from Harfleur, which he soon after invested. After a siege of about five weeks, that town surrendered, September 22, upon the following hard

Siege of Harfleur.

¹⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 300.

¹⁸ Id. ibid. p. 303. Elmham, p. 36. Walsing. p. 389. Tit. Livii, p. 8.

condi-

A. D. 1415.

conditions, That thirty persons, to be named by Henry, should be delivered to him, to be treated as he pleased; and that the rest of the garrison and inhabitants should march out, and go where they pleased, leaving all their goods behind them to enrich the conquerors¹⁹.

Henry resolves to return to England.

Though this was a valuable, it was not a cheap conquest; for the uncommon heat of the weather, the great fatigues of the siege, the uncautious eating of fruit, and other causes, produced an epidemic dysentery in the English army, of which several persons of rank, and about 2000 of the common soldiers, died; and far greater numbers were rendered incapable of service²⁰. This circumstance, and the advanced season of the year, made it improper to engage in any other military enterprise. Henry, therefore, repaired the fortifications of Harfleur, invited many English families to settle in it, by granting them the houses of the former inhabitants, and furnished it with a garrison of 2000 men, under the command of his uncle, the earl of Dorset, as governor, and of sir John Fastolf, as lieutenant-governor; and then began to think of conducting the remainder of his troops back again to England. But the manner of accomplishing this was a question of no little difficulty; to determine which, the king called a council of all the great men of his army. The duke of Clarence, the king's eldest brother, proposed to embark the army at Harfleur, and sail directly from thence into Eng-

¹⁹ Tit. Livii, p. 11. Elmham, p. 47, 48.

²⁰ Elmham, p. 44.

land.

land. But the king, thinking that would have the appearance of fear, and of shunning an engagement, declared boldly for marching by land to Calais; and that resolution was adopted²¹. The duke of Clarence, the earls of March, Arundel, Marshal, and many others, who were indisposed, took their passage directly from Harfleur, which still further diminished the army²².

A. D. 1415.

The landing of so powerful an enemy as the king of England upon their coasts, did not extinguish the flames of faction among the French; for while that prince was besieging Harfleur, they were debating in council, whether they should intrust the protection of the kingdom to the duke of Burgundy or the duke of Orleans, believing that it was impossible for these two princes to co-operate. This question was at length determined in favour of the duke of Orleans and his party; which furnished his rival with a pretence for acting that part which he afterwards acted, and which brought so many calamities upon his country, and destruction upon himself²³. So slow were the preparations of the French, that when the siege of Harfleur had continued five weeks, and the English army was so much weakened, they had not a sufficient number of troops to attempt the relief of that place²⁴. The surrender of Harfleur seems to have roused them; for in about fourteen days after, they had collected an army of 100,000 men to intercept the English army in its march to Calais²⁵.

State of France.

²¹ Tit. Livii, p. 12. Elmham, c. 42. p. 49. ²² Walsing. p. 391.

²³ Histoire de France, par Villar, tom. 13. p. 350.

²⁴ Id. ibid. p. 346. ²⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 314.

It

A. D. 1415.

Dangerous
situation
of the
English
army.

It is hardly possible to imagine any situation more dangerous than that of Henry V. and his army, at this time. That army was now reduced to 10,000 men, of whom not a few were sick, or slowly recovering from sickness;—they had to traverse a long tract of country, inhabited by exasperated enemies, from whom they were to procure provisions, lodgings, guides, intelligence, and every thing they wanted;—that country was defended by many strong towns, intersected by deep rivers, and guarded by an army of 100,000, or (according to some contemporary writers) 140,000 men²⁶.

Their
march
from Har-
fleur to
Agincourt.

Henry, undaunted by all these dangers and difficulties, departed from Harfleur, marching his army in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on the wings. He proceeded by very easy journies, that he might not fatigue his troops, or discourage them by the appearance of a flight; observing the strictest discipline, and paying generously for every thing he received; which induced the country-people to bring provisions to his camp, in spite of all the commands they had received to the contrary. To keep his men in spirits, and from repining, the king fared as ill as the meanest soldier, always appearing with a cheerful countenance, and addressing them in the most friendly and encouraging language. When the English army reached the banks of the river Somme at Blanquitake, where Edward III. had passed before the battle of Cressy, and where they designed to pass, to their great mortification, they found the ford was rendered impracticable, by

²⁶ T. Walsing. p. 391.

sharp stakes driven into the bottom; and saw a great army on the other side, ready to oppose their passage. This obliged them to march up the banks of that river, in quest of a place to pass it; which they fortunately found near Bethencourt, where the whole army got over, October 19, without opposition. Proceeding on their march, they arrived at the village of Agincourt, in the county of St. Pol, on the evening of October 24, and there beheld the whole French army, at a small distance, directly in their route²⁷. The king took an attentive view of it from an eminence, and was fully convinced, that it was impossible to proceed any further on his way to Calais without a battle, and equally impossible to return to Harfleur with so great an army in his rear. He therefore resolved to hazard an action next morning, as the only means of preserving himself and his little army from destruction²⁸. Some French writers indeed say, that he made an offer to give up his conquest of Harfleur, and to repair all the damages he had done for a free passage to Calais²⁹. But this is neither agreeable to the character of his courage nor his prudence; as such an offer would have dispirited his own men and encouraged his enemies; and he could not expect that it would be accepted.

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The English army lodged in the villages of Agincourt, Maisoncele, and some others, on the night of the 24th of October, and met with better accommodation than they had been accustomed to

How the English spent the night before the battle.

²⁷ Elmham, c. 24, 25. p. 54—59. Tit. Livii, p. 12—15. T. Walsing. p. 392.

²⁸ T. Walsing. p. 392.

²⁹ Labourier, l. 24. c. 6. Villar, tom. 9. p. 358.

for

A.D. 1415. for some time past, and spent part of their time in mutual exhortations to fight bravely in the approaching battle³⁰. The king, overhearing some of his nobles expressing a wish, that the many brave men who were idle in England were present to assist them, cried out—"No! I would not have one man more—if we are defeated, we are too many—if it shall please God to give us the victory, as I trust he will, the smaller our number the greater our glory³¹." The moon happening to shine very bright, Henry, with some of his best officers, carefully examined the ground, and pitched upon a field of battle, admirably calculated to preserve a small army from being surrounded by a great one. It was a gentle declivity from the village of Agincourt, of sufficient extent for his small army, defended on each side by hedges, trees, and brushwood. Having placed guards and kindled fires on all sides, the king and his army betook themselves to rest; except such as were of a more serious turn of mind, and, considering that as the last night of their lives, spent it in devotion³².

How the
French
spent it.

The French, exulting in their numbers, confident of victory, and abounding in provisions, spent the night in noisy festivity, and in forming fanciful schemes about the disposal of their prisoners and their booty. It was in general resolved to put all the English to the sword, except the king and the chief nobility, who were to be taken prisoners for the sake of their ransoms³³.

³⁰ Elmham, p. 59.

³¹ Id. p. 61.

³² Id. p. 59. Tit. Livii, p. 16. T. Walsing. p. 392.

³³ Id. ibid. Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.

On

On the morning of Friday, the memorable 25th of October, A. D. 1415, the day of Crispin and Crispianus, the English and French armies were ranged in order of battle, each in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on each wing. The constable d'Albert, who commanded the French army, fell into the snare that was laid for him, by drawing up his army in the narrow plain between the two woods. This deprived him, in a great measure, of the advantage he should have derived from the prodigious superiority of his numbers; obliged him to make his lines unnecessarily deep, about thirty men in file; to crowd his troops, particularly his cavalry, so close together, that they could hardly move, or use their arms; and in a word, was the chief cause of all the disasters that followed³⁴. The French, it is said, had a considerable number of cannon of different sizes in the field; but we do not hear that they did any execution, probably for want of room³⁵. The first line of the French army, which consisted of 8000 men at arms on foot, mixed with 4000 archers, with 500 men at arms mounted on each wing, was commanded by the constable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many other nobles; the dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, &c. conducted the second line; and the earls of Marle, Damartine, Fauconberg, &c. were at the head of the third line³⁶. The king of England employed various arts to supply his defect of numbers. He placed 200 of his

A. D. 1415.

Order of battle.

³⁴ Tit. Livii, p. 17. Elmham, c. 27.³⁵ Id. p. 63. Tit. Livii, p. 17. Villar, tom. 9, p. 361.³⁶ Id. ibid. p. 365.

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best archers, in ambush, in a low meadow, on the flank of the first line of the French³⁷. His own first line consisted wholly of archers, four in file; each of whom, besides his bow and arrows, had a battle-axe, a sword, and a stake pointed with iron at both ends, which he fixed before him in the ground, the point inclining outwards, to protect him from cavalry; which was a new invention, and had a happy effect³⁸. That he might not be incumbered, he dismissed all his prisoners, on their word of honour to surrender themselves at Calais, if he obtained the victory, and lodged all his baggage in the village of Agincourt, in his rear, under a slender guard³⁹. The command of the first line was, at his earnest request, committed to Edward duke of York, assisted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope; the second was conducted by the king, with his youngest brother Humphry, duke of Gloucester, the earls of Oxford, Marshal, and Suffolk; and the third was led by the duke of Exeter, the king's uncle⁴⁰. The lines being formed, the king, in shining armour, with a crown of gold adorned with precious stones on his helmet, mounted on a fine white horse, rode along them, and addressed each corps with a cheerful countenance and animating speeches⁴¹. To inflame their resentment against their enemies, he told them, that the French had determined to cut off three fingers of the right hand of every prisoner; and to rouse their love of honour, he declared, that every

³⁷ Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.³⁸ Id. *ibid.* Elmham, p. 65.³⁹ Id. p. 60.⁴⁰ Hall, Hen. V. f. 16.⁴¹ Elmham, p. 61.

soldier in that army who behaved well, should from henceforth be deemed a gentleman, and intitled to bear coat-armour⁴². The English archers, fired by the words and gestures of their king, and panting for action, stripped themselves almost naked, that they might deal their blows with the greater rapidity and vigour⁴³.

A. D. 1415.

When the two armies were drawn up in this manner, they stood a considerable time gazing at one another in solemn silence. But the king, dreading that the French would discover the danger of their situation, and decline a battle, commanded the charge to be sounded, about ten of the clock in the forenoon. At that instant, the first line of the English kneeled down, and kissed the ground; and then starting up, discharged a flight of arrows, which did great execution among the crowded ranks of the French⁴⁴. Immediately after, upon a signal being given, the archers in ambush arose, and discharged their arrows on the flank of the French line, and threw it into some disorder⁴⁵. The battle now became general, and raged with uncommon fury. The English archers, having expended all their arrows, threw away their bows, and, rushing forward, made dreadful havoc with their swords and battle-axes⁴⁶. The first line of the enemy was by these means defeated; its leaders being either killed or taken prisoners. The second line, commanded by the duke d'Alençon (who had made a vow either to kill or take the king

Battle of Agincourt.

⁴² Elmham, p. 61. Villar, p. 364.⁴³ Id. p. 366.⁴⁴ T. Elmham, p. 65. 371.⁴⁵ Hall, Hen. V. f. 17.⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.* f. 18.

A.D. 1415.

of England, or to perish in the attempt), now advanced to the charge, and was encountered by the second line of the English, conducted by the king. This conflict was more close and furious than the former. The duke of Gloucester, wounded and unhorsed, was protected by his royal brother, till he was carried off the field⁴⁷. The duke d'Alençon forced his way to the king, and assaulted him with great fury; but that prince brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched⁴⁸. Discouraged by this disaster, the second line made no more resistance; and the third fled without striking a blow; yielding a complete and glorious victory to the English, after a violent struggle of three hours duration⁴⁹.

The killed and taken.

The king did not permit his men to pursue the fugitives to a great distance, but encouraged them to take as many prisoners as they could on or near the field; in which they were so successful, that, in a little time, his captives were more numerous than his soldiers⁵⁰. A great proportion of these prisoners were men of rank and fortune; for many of the French noblesse being on foot, and loaded with their heavy armour, could not make their escape. Among these were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the marshal Boucicaut, the counts d'Eu, Vendome, Richemont, and Harcourt, and 7000 barons, knights, and gentlemen⁵¹. The French

⁴⁷ Elmham, p. 67. Tit. Liv. p. 20.

⁴⁸ Hall, f. 18.

⁴⁹ T. Walsing. p. 393. Tit. Liv. p. 20. Thomas de Elmham's description of this battle is so curious a piece of bombast, that I have given it in Appendix, N^o I.

⁵⁰ Tit. Liv. p. 20.

⁵¹ T. Otterbourne, p. 277.

left

left dead on the field of battle, the constable d'Albert, the three dukes of Alençon, Brabant, and Bar, the archbishop of Sens, one marshal, thirteen earls, ninety-two barons, 1500 knights, and a far greater number of gentlemen, besides several thousands of common soldiers⁵². Even the French historians acknowledge, that the loss of the English was inconsiderable; and those of our own contemporary writers who make it the greatest, affirm that it did not exceed a hundred; and that the duke of York and the earl of Suffolk were the only great men who fell on that side in this memorable action⁵³. So astonishing, on some occasions, are the events of war, and so fatal the errors of those to whom the conduct of armies is committed! For to the gross errors committed by the constable d'Albert, as much as to the wise measures of Henry, and the heroic valour of the English, the disgrace and ruin of the French army may be imputed.

A.D. 1415.



The advanced season of the year, with the want of a sufficient number of men, prevented Henry from making any other use of his great victory, than to pursue his march to Calais, with his spoils and prisoners⁵⁴. Having there rested and refreshed his troops, he embarked for England, November 16, with his principal prisoners, and arrived at Dover that same evening; where he was received with transports of joy, many of the people plunging into the sea to meet his barge⁵⁵. At his triumphant entry into London, November 23, the shows and

Henry's
reception
into Eng-
land.

⁵² T. Otterbourne, p. 277. T. Elmham, p. 68. Villar, t. 13. p. 375.

⁵³ T. Elmham, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Id. *ibid*.

⁵⁵ Elmham, p. 71.

A. D. 1415. pageants exhibited by the citizens (says a contemporary writer) were so numerous, that it would have required a volume to describe them⁵⁶. One of the most valuable proofs they gave him of their good-will was, a present of £1000, in two gold basons, each worth £500⁵⁷.

A. D. 1416. The lamentations in France were as loud as the acclamations in England, there being few families in it who did not mourn the loss of some relations who had fallen in the fatal battle of Agincourt. The distractions which reigned in the court and councils of that kingdom after that battle can hardly be described. The exclusion of the duke of Burgundy from all share in the government, by the prevailing faction of the Armagnacs, had disgusted him so much, that he had engaged in secret negotiations with the king of England. The defeat at Agincourt, the death of his son-in-law, the dauphin Lewis, which happened about six weeks after, and, above all, the exaltation of his most inveterate enemy, the count d'Armagnac, to the office of constable, and the chief direction of all affairs, accelerated these negotiations, which terminated in a treaty of alliance, in which the duke acknowledged Henry to be king of France, and engaged to assist him with all his forces, to obtain the possession of that kingdom⁵⁸. This alliance with so powerful a prince of the blood of France, who had so numerous a party in that distracted kingdom, gave Henry a very probable prospect of success in his designs.

⁵⁶ T. Walsing. p. 393. ⁵⁷ Stow, p. 351. ⁵⁸ Rym.
Feed. tom. 9. p. 304. 328. 332. 354. 364. 374. 390. 395, &c.

The

The emperor Sigismund, who had visited the courts of Arragon and France, to engage them to concur in putting an end to the schism in the church, arrived in England in April this year, with familiar views⁵⁹. While he continued there, he attempted to mediate a peace between France and England; but without success⁶⁰. As Henry, however, was not prepared for the formidable invasion which he intended, he agreed to a truce from October 9, A. D. 1416, to February 2, 1417⁶¹.

A.D. 1416.
Truce
with
France.

State of
France.

While the king of England was forming alliances, collecting money, raising troops, and making every possible preparation for invading France, those who conducted the affairs of that kingdom were doing every thing that could contribute to their own and to their country's ruin. The constable d'Armagnac in reality possessed all the power of the crown; and he employed that power to the most pernicious purposes. His reigning passion was hatred to the duke of Burgundy and his party; and being naturally of a fierce imperious spirit, he persecuted all who were suspected of attachment to that party with the most unrelenting cruelty. This rendered the wounds of faction incurable, and produced much disorder, discord, and distress, in all parts of the kingdom; and particularly in the capital, where the Burgundian had many friends, who had formed a plot to massacre the king and all his family, the constable, and all the principal persons of his party. The same discord which raged in all other parts of the

⁵⁹ T. Elmham, c. 31. p. 73.

⁶⁰ Id. *ibid*.

⁶¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 398.

A. D. 1416. kingdom reigned in the royal family. The queen, excluded from any share in the management of affairs by the constable, retired to Vincennes, where she kept a most licentious and luxurious court. This gave the constable an opportunity of seizing all her treasures, which were very great, and of inflaming the jealousy of the king to such a pitch, that he sent her under a guard to Tours, and commanded her favourite Louis Bourdon to be put up in a sack, and thrown into the Seine. These cruel injuries inspired that princess with the most implacable resentment against the constable and all his party; not excepting her own son Charles, now become dauphin by the death of his two elder brothers⁶². In a word, all the furies seemed to have taken up their residence in France, and to have conspired the destruction of that kingdom.

A. D. 1417.
Second
invasion
of France.

Such was the state of France when Henry V. landed, August 1, A. D. 1417, near Touques in Normandy, with a gallant army of 16,000 men at arms and archers, some thousands of pikemen and other troops, with many miners, masons, carpenters, a great train of artillery and other engines, from a fleet of 1500 ships⁶³. When he had disembarked his troops, he published some excellent regulations for the preservation of discipline, and protection of the clergy, of wives, widows, and maidens, from all insults⁶⁴. It is unnecessary to attend this victorious prince, step by step, in his triumphant march, or enumerate all the places that

⁶² Villar, tom. 13. p. 410—426.

⁶³ Tit. Livii, p. 31, 32, 33. T. Elmham, p. 92. 96, 97. Otterbourne, p. 278.

⁶⁴ T. Walsing. p. 397.

submitted

submitted to his arms. There was no army to oppose him in the field; most of the towns were ill fortified, and worse garrisoned; and, expecting no relief, surrendered as soon as they were summoned. His proceeding appeared more like the progress of a prince in his own dominions, than the march of an invader in an enemy's country; and all the lower Normandy was reduced in this campaign.

A. D. 1417.

At the same time, the progress of his ally, the duke of Burgundy, was no less rapid. That prince, carefully concealing his connection with the king of England, pretended to carry on the war against the Armagnacs, who, he declared, were enemies to the state, and held the king and royal family in durance. Besides a powerful army, with which he advanced towards the capital, where the court resided, he had many friends and emissaries in all parts of the kingdom, who prevailed upon many great men to embrace his party, and on many towns to open their gates to his troops. On his march, he received a message from the queen (who had long been the most violent of all his enemies, for the murder of her favourite the duke of Orleans), entreating him to relieve her from her confinement, and promising to promote all his views. Sensible of the advantage of having that bold and active princess in his party, or rather in his possession, he flew to her rescue, at the head of 800 horse, surprised her keepers, and conducted her to Chartres. There she issued a proclamation, declaring her right to be regent of the kingdom during the incapacity of the king, her husband; and
imme-

Proceedings of the duke of Burgundy.

A.D. 1417.

immediately entered on the exercise of that right, by constituting a new parliament, appointing a constable, chancellor, and other officers of state, &c. Thus the two parties which had so long torn France in pieces; were more regularly formed than ever; the Armagnacs acting under the authority of the dauphin, and the Burgundians under the authority of the queen. Both these parties negotiated with the king of England, and with one another, but without either sincerity or success; and the war between them was carried on with the greatest inveteracy⁶⁵.

A.D. 1418.

Military
operations
of the
English.

While one half of the people of France were attempting to subdue the other, the king of England proceeded with great rapidity in subduing both. Having received a reinforcement of 15,000 men from England, he gave the command of separate bodies of troops to his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, with which they reduced many strong places⁶⁶. In the spring and summer of this year, all Normandy, except Cherbourg and Rouen, submitted to the arms of England; and the duke of Gloucester besieged the former, while the king invested the latter, July 29. Cherbourg, after a long and obstinate resistance, surrendered, September 29: but the king, finding that he could not take Rouen (which was defended by 19,000 men) by force, without too great an ex-

⁶⁵ Villar, tom. 13. p. 439, &c.

⁶⁶ T. Elmham, c. 55, 56, 57, 58. Walsing. p. 400. Tit. Liv. p. 40—51.

pence

pence of blood, converted the siege into a blockade, in order to reduce it by famine.

A.D. 1418.

Henry, as wise as he was brave, employed policy as well as power to promote the success of his enterprise. By a proclamation, he promised protection, and the peaceable enjoyment of all their goods and privileges, to all who submitted to his authority, and appointed commissioners in every district to receive the submissions of the people⁶⁷. He abolished the gabelle, and diminished the tax on salt, and some other taxes⁶⁸. He maintained the most perfect discipline among his troops, and suffered none of his soldiers to insult or injure the peaceable inhabitants. To all who approached his person, he behaved with the most winning affability, hearing their complaints with patience, and redressing their wrongs with justice. By these wise measures, he subdued the hearts of the people of Normandy, who crowded to pay their submission to so great and good a prince.

Wife policy of Henry.

While Henry was thus successfully employed in asserting his claim to the crown of France, the two parties in that kingdom were too keenly engaged in destroying one another to give him any interruption. The constable d'Armagnac, having discovered a plot to betray Paris to the duke of Burgundy, made the scaffolds stream with blood, and meditated a massacre of all the Burgundian party in the capital. This severity only served to render him more odious, and to hasten his own destruc-

Massacre of Paris.

⁶⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 573.

⁶⁸ Id. ibid. p. 583.

tion.

A.D. 1418.

tion. Perrinet le Clerk admitted L'Isle Adam, a captain of the duke of Burgundy, with 800 men at arms, into Paris on the night of May 29. This troop marched in profound silence to the Chatelet, where they were joined by 500 citizens who were in the plot. They then divided into different bodies, went to the houses of the ministers of state, and other obnoxious persons, seized them, and threw them into prison. Tanneguy de Chastel, provost of Paris, saved the dauphin, by rushing into his chamber on the first alarm, taking him out of bed, and carrying him in his arms to the Bastile, from whence he escaped to Melun. The constable, who was the chief object of their indignation, eluded their most eager searches for some time; but was at length discovered by a mason, in whose house he had taken shelter, and conducted to prison. Next morning the populace of Paris, instigated by the friends of the duke of Burgundy, began the most horrid outrages, insulting, plundering, and imprisoning all to whom they gave the name of Armagnacs; and these outrages continued till all the prisons were filled, and a great part of the city destroyed. But the most bloody scene of this tragedy was still to come. As soon as the queen and duke of Burgundy, who were then at Troyes, heard of this revolution, they sent intimations to their confidential friends, that it would be proper to put all the Armagnacs to death. When they received this cruel intimation, they circulated reports, that the Armagnacs were about to enter the city by surprise, to release the constable and other prisoners, and

and murder all the Burgundians. Enraged to madness by these reports, the populace, June 12, broke into the prisons, and butchered the guards and prisoners without distinction. In the first three days of this massacre, besides the constable, chancellor, and six bishops, 3500 persons, many of them eminent for their rank and character, were put to death. After the triumphant entry of the queen and duke, while the streets were stained with blood, the massacre was renewed, and about 14,000 persons (of which 5000 were women) slain⁶⁹. How dangerous a passion is party-rage, which sometimes corrupts the best hearts, blinds the best understandings, and endangers the most powerful states!

A.D. 1418

The two parties in France were so far from giving any interruption to Henry while he was engaged in the siege of Rouen, that both courted his protection, and each endeavoured to make him more tempting offers than the other. He negotiated with both, without suspending or relaxing his military operations for one moment⁷⁰. A truce was concluded with the young earl of Armagnac, the earl of Dreux, and other French barons, who harassed his subjects in Guienne; which restored tranquillity to his dominions in those parts⁷¹. A curious detail of the negotiations with the dauphin, which hath been published, proves, that Henry was as great a politician as a general, and that it was as difficult to deceive him in the cabinet as to


Negotiations.

⁶⁹ Villar, t. 13. p. 461—475. T. Walsing. p. 400.

⁷⁰ Rym. Feed. tom. 9, p. 628—655.

⁷¹ Id. ibid. p. 602.

defeat

A.D. 1418.  defeat him in the field⁷¹. Both these, and the negotiations with the other party, which were carried on at the same time, proved abortive; and it was probably never intended that they should have any success.


A.D. 1419.
Surrender
of Rouen.

While Henry amused both the parties of the French with these negotiations, he carried on the siege of Rouen, secure from any interruption. That great and beautiful city, which contained about 200,000 inhabitants, was bravely defended by its citizens, who would probably have rendered all the efforts of the English ineffectual, if they had not been assaulted by an enemy whose attacks are irresistible. Sufficient stores of provisions had not been laid up for so great a multitude; and before the end of October 1418, their magazines were nearly exhausted. They subsisted for some time on a scanty allowance of horse-flesh, till all their horses were consumed. They then fed on dogs, cats, rats, and mice, which sold at so high a price, that they could only be procured by the rich. About 50,000 persons died of hunger, or of diseases contracted by the use of unwholesome food. During all that time they were cruelly tantalized by the duke of Burgundy, with promises of relief, which he never intended, or at least never attempted to perform. At length, unable to subsist, and despairing of relief, they proposed to capitulate. Henry, irritated at their obstinate resistance, insisted on their surrendering at discretion; which

⁷¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 632—646.

they

they refused. Informed by Boutcullur the governor, with whom he held a private correspondence, that they had resolved to set their city on fire in all quarters, and then to rush out, and either to cut their way, or perish with their arms in their hands, he granted them more moderate terms. The capitulation was concluded January 13, A. D. 1419, by which the town and castle, with all ammunition and implements of war, were to be surrendered to the king of England on the 19th of that month; the garrison to take an oath not to serve against him for one year; the citizens to pay a ransom of 300,000 crowns, and, upon taking an oath of fealty, to enjoy all their property and privileges. The surrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the other places of strength in Normandy⁷³.

A. D. 1419,


The loss of Normandy greatly alarmed both the parties of the French; and such of them as were not blinded by party-rage, earnestly laboured to bring about a reconciliation between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, as the only means of saving their country. The duke secretly wished for this; but his advances not meeting with suitable returns, he renewed his negotiations with the king of England. To render these negotiations more solemn and effectual, and probably with a view on the part of the duke to give the greater alarm to the dauphin, and to make him more tractable, it was agreed, April 7, that the king of England

Interview
of Henry
with the
French
court.

⁷³ Rym. Foed. tom. 9. p. 664. 674. 677, 678, 679. 682, 683, &c.
T. Elmham, cap. 70, 71.

should

A. D. 1419.

should have a personal interview with the king and queen of France, the princess Katharine, and the duke of Burgundy, on May 15, between Mante and Pontoyes⁷⁴. This interview did not happen till May 30, when all these illustrious personages (except the king of France, who was indisposed) met for the first time, in a magnificent tent, at a place called *La Chat*⁷⁵. The queen of France did not neglect to conduct her beautiful daughter, the princess Katharine, to this interview, and carefully watching the eyes of the king of England, observed with joy, that he was captivated by her charms. An adept in all the arts of amorous intrigue, she secreted the princess from his sight for several days, in order to inflame his passion. But Henry courted as a conqueror, and despised these little arts. "I will have your princess (said he to the duke of Burgundy) on my own terms, or I will drive both your king and you out of the kingdom." "Sir (replied the duke), it will fatigue you very much to drive us both out⁷⁶." The duke, disgusted at the haughtiness of Henry, and the exorbitancy of his demands, protracted the negotiation, in hopes that the dauphin would make advances to him for an accommodation. These hopes were at length gratified. The dauphin, dreading the consequences of this interview between his two most powerful enemies, sent a trusty agent to Pontoyes to propose a recon-

⁷⁴ Elmham, p. 717—727.⁷⁵ Id. p. 752.⁷⁶ Villar, tom. 14. p. 33.

ciliation

ciliation to the duke; which, being equally desired by both parties, was soon concluded. The duke then broke off the conferences with the king of England, June 30, and had an interview with the dauphin at Poilly-le-Fort, in which these princes gave each other every possible mark of the most perfect amity, and ratified their reconciliation by the most sacred rites of religion⁷⁷. The reconciliation of these two princes was celebrated by illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy, in all the towns of France.

A.D. 1419.

Henry, thus deluded by the duke of Burgundy, found himself in a very disagreeable situation. His hopes of success were chiefly founded on the animosity of the French parties, which he believed to be implacable; and he now saw them united when he least expected it. He had only about 25,000 men to preserve his conquest of Normandy, and make head against all the forces of a mighty kingdom. The kings of Castile and Arragon were arming in favour of the dauphin, and the Scots had embraced the same party⁷⁸. His treasury, and even his credit, was exhausted; his own subjects discontented at the expence of the war, and beginning to apprehend that the conquest of France would be the ruin of England.

Perplexed situation of Henry.

Undaunted by all these difficulties, Henry resolved to prosecute the war with vigour; probably imagining that so sudden a coalition between such inveterate enemies could not be of long duration.

Assassination of the duke of Burgundy.

⁷⁷ Villar, t. 14. p. 35. Elmham, cap. 78.

⁷⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 794.

A.D. 1419.

However this may be, an event soon happened, which relieved him from all his difficulties, and gave him a fairer prospect than ever of obtaining the crown of France. That was the assassination of the duke of Burgundy, September 10, on the bridge of Montereaux, by the attendants of the dauphin, as he was engaged in a conference with that prince⁷⁹. What prompted the dauphin, or rather his counsellors, to this rash and criminal action, is not certainly known; but it involved his country in many and great calamities.

Consequences of this assassination.

As soon as the news of this assassination reached Paris, where the late duke had always been exceedingly popular, the whole city was in a tumult; and the citizens of all ranks expressed the most violent resentment against the dauphin and his adherents; and the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, imitated the example of the capital. The court of France, which then resided at Troyes, was affected in the same manner, and a declaration of war was denounced against the dauphin, at the instigation of the queen, the implacable enemy of her son. Nothing could equal the fury of Philip duke of Charolois, now duke of Burgundy, when he heard of his father's murder. The desire of revenge took possession of his whole soul, and rendered him blind to every other consideration. All these enemies of the dauphin turned their eyes to the king of England, determined to deny him nothing to engage him to assist them in gratifying their revenge⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ Villar, t. 14. p. 44. T. Elmham, c. 83. ⁸⁰ Villar, t. 14 p. 55—61.

In consequence of these dispositions, conferences were held at Arras by the ministers of the kings of France and England, and the duke of Burgundy; and the most important articles of a treaty of peace between these princes were settled December 2, *viz.* That Henry should marry the princess Katharine, without any expence to her parents or the kingdom: that king Charles should enjoy the crown of France, with all its powers and revenues, during life, and his queen Isabella all the privileges of her rank: that Henry should be regent of France during the incapacity of Charles for government, and succeed to the crown at his death⁸¹. A general truce between the kings of France and England, with separate treaties between each of these kings and the duke of Burgundy, for assisting him in avenging the murder of his father, were concluded at the same time and place⁸².

A.D. 1419.
Treaty of
Arras.

Though the most important articles of this confederacy were settled by the treaties of Arras, many particulars still remained to be adjusted; and on these the ministers of the contracting powers laboured during the four first months of the year 1420. At length, when all things were ready, Henry marched at the head of an army of 16,000 men from Pontoyes to Troyes, where the court of France then resided. There, May 21, the large and definitive treaty of peace, consisting of thirty-one articles, was signed, sealed, and sworn to by the king of England, in his own name, and by the queen of France and duke of Burgundy, by commission from

A.D. 1430.
Treaty of
Troyes.

⁸¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 316. ⁸² Id. ibid. p. 318—329. 340-

A. D. 1420.

and in name of Charles VI. king of France⁸³. Copies of this famous treaty were sent into England, and published in London, and all the other cities and towns of the kingdom, with every possible demonstration of joy⁸⁴. It was proclaimed in Paris, and all the other cities of France, of the Burgundian party, with equal solemnity and joy⁸⁵. In a word, no treaty ever occasioned greater joy when it was made, or produced greater calamities in the end. So short-sighted is human policy, and so little do nations, as well as individuals, know of the distant consequences of events!

Henry's marriage.

King Henry and the princess Katharine were affianced on the same day, May 21, and their nuptials were solemnized on Trinity Sunday, May 30, with great pomp⁸⁶.

Military operations.

Henry, willing to prosecute his good fortune, and reduce the dauphin and his party (commonly called the *Armagnacs*) while they were unpopular, on the third day after his marriage invested the city of Sens, which surrendered in a few days⁸⁷. On the 13th July, he laid siege to Melun, where he met with a much more obstinate resistance. The kings of France and Scotland were present at this siege, which was pushed with uncommon vigour. The place held out till November 18, and was compelled at last to surrender by famine, rather than by the efforts of the English, who lost 1700 men before its walls⁸⁸.

⁸³ Rym. Fœd. t. 9. p. 895—905.⁸⁴ Id. ibid. p. 906.⁸⁵ Id. ibid. p. 910.⁸⁶ Id. ibid. J. de Urſins, p. 379.⁸⁷ T. Elmham, c. 92.⁸⁸ T. Walsing. p. 403. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10, p. 30.

A. D. 1420.
Henry's
entry into
Paris.

After the surrender of Meun, Henry, accompanied by the king and queen of France, the duke of Burgundy, and many other persons of rank, marched his army to Paris, where his authority as regent and heir of France had been cheerfully acknowledged. The two kings made their public entry into Paris on the first Sunday in Advent, and the two queens the day after, and were entertained by the citizens with the representation of mysteries, and other fashionable amusements⁸⁹. On the 10th of December, an assembly of the three estates was held, with great solemnity, in the great hall of the palace of St. Paul; in which the treaty of Troyes, called the final and perpetual peace, was confirmed, and declared to be a public and perpetual law of the kingdom; and an act was made, requiring all the subjects to take the oaths required by that treaty⁹⁰.

Dauphin
condemned.

The duke of Burgundy having appeared in mourning before the three estates, December 23, and demanded justice to be executed on the murderers of his father, a sentence of condemnation was pronounced against Charles, the pretended dauphin (as he was called); and his accomplices in that murder; and they were declared guilty of high treason, and incapable of succeeding to or possessing any place of power or dignity⁹¹.

Henry, having brought his affairs in France to this desirable point, and constituted his brother the duke of Clarence his lieutenant, he conducted his young queen into England, where she was crowned,

A. D. 1421.
Coronation of the
queen.

⁸⁹ T. Walsing. p. 403. Elmham, c. 105. Villar, t. 14. p. 105.

⁹⁰ Rymer, Foed. tom. 10. p. 30.

⁹¹ Id. ibid. p. 33.

A. D. 1421. February 22, with extraordinary pomp and splendour⁹².

Death of
the Duke
of Cla-
rence.

After the coronation, the king, with his queen and court, made a progress into the north, and celebrated the feast of Easter at York⁹³. At Beverly he received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his brother the duke of Clarence, who had fallen, March 22, near the castle of Baugé, in a battle against an army of 7000 Scots, which had been sent to the assistance of the dauphin, under the command of the earl of Buchan, second son to Robert duke of Albany, regent of Scotland⁹⁴. Many other noblemen were slain in this action, and a still greater number taken prisoners. Greatly affected by this intelligence, he hastened to Westminster, and applied with ardour to raising men and money for an expedition to the continent. From a parliament, which met May 2, he obtained a fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy, with a ratification of the treaty of Troyes⁹⁵.

Military
operations.

Henry constituted his brother John duke of Bedford regent of England; and, embarking at Dover June 10, with a gallant army, landed next day at Calais⁹⁶. Having marched this army into Normandy, and made a short visit to the king and queen of France at Paris, he hastened to the relief of Chartres, which was besieged by the dauphin; who raised the siege on the news of his approach⁹⁷.

⁹² Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 49. T. Elmham; c. 112.

⁹³ Elmham, c. 113. 115.

⁹⁴ Id. c. 104.

⁹⁵ T. Walsing. p. 404. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 110.

⁹⁶ Id. ibid. p. 129. Elmham, c. 116.

⁹⁷ Id. c. 117.

Henry,

Henry, finding it impossible to overtake the enemy, and bring them to an action, employed his army in reducing Dreux (which capitulated August 20) and several other towns and castles⁹⁸. Receiving intelligence that the dauphin, with his army, lay encamped near Beaugency on the Loire, he marched with great rapidity towards that place, in hopes of terminating the war by a battle. But on his approach the enemy's army separated. The English army suffered much in this march by sickness and scarcity of provisions; which obliged Henry, after taking Beaugency, and some other towns, to return towards Paris, and put his troops into quarters of refreshment⁹⁹.

A.D. 1421.

Impatient of long repose, he soon called his forces again into the field, and on October 6, formed the siege of Meaux. This was one of the strongest towns in France; and that quarter of it called the *Market-place* was esteemed impregnable. The garrison, commanded by the bastard of Vaurus, almost desolated the country around, and hanged, without mercy, all the English who fell into their hands, on a certain tree, called the *Oak of Vaurus*. At the earnest request of the Parisians, and to revenge these cruelties, Henry engaged in this siege, in which no quarter was given on either side. The town was taken by storm in winter, and the market-place surrendered May 10, A. D. 1422. The ferocious Vaurus was hanged on his own oak; and

Siege of Meaux.

⁹⁸ Elmham, c. 118.⁹⁹ Id. c. 119, 120.

A. D. 1421. a few of the most criminal of the garrison were tried and executed at Paris ¹⁰⁰.

A. D. 1422. While the king lay with his army before Meaux, Birth of prince. he received the agreeable news, that the queen was delivered of a son, at Windsor, December 6, A. D. 1421. He was soon after baptised by the name of Henry; the duke of Bedford, the bishop of Winchester, and Jaqueline countess of Hainault and Holland (who proved the cause of many misfortunes to the infant prince), being sponsors ¹⁰¹. The queen, on her recovery, returned to France, and joined the king in his camp before Meaux. A few days after the surrender of that place, they made their public entry into Paris, and celebrated the festival of Whitsuntide at the Louvre, with great magnificence ¹⁰².

King's sickness.

The dauphin, with the auxiliaries he had received from Scotland and Castile, had collected an army of about 20,000 men, commanded by the earl of Buchan, constable of France; with which, after taking La Charity, he besieged Cosne, a town on the Loire, belonging to the duke of Burgundy. The garrison agreed to surrender, if they were not relieved before the 16th of August. When the duke received intelligence of this, he collected all his troops, and requested a reinforcement from the king of England, to assist him in the relief of Cosne. The king answered, that he would march with him in person, at the head of his army, that he might have a share in the glory of ending the war,

¹⁰⁰ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 212. Elmham, c. 22, 23, 25, 26.

¹⁰¹ T. Walsing. p. 406.

¹⁰² Id. ibid. Elmham, c. 126.

by

by defeating the dauphin. He marched accordingly; but on his arrival at Senlis, he was seized with a feverish disorder, attended with very threatening symptoms. He was carried in a horse-litter to Corbeyle: but being unable to proceed any further, he gave the command of the army to his brother the duke of Bedford (who had accompanied the queen from England), and returned by water to Bois de Vincennes ¹⁰³.

A. D. 1422.

At the approach of the English and Burgundian armies, the dauphin raised the siege of Cosne, not daring to risk a battle; the loss of which would have been very fatal to his affairs. The duke of Bedford and the earl of Warwick hastened back to the king, and found him almost at the point of death. At the sight of his beloved brother, and most faithful friend, he summoned up all his remaining strength, and addressed them to this purpose. He thanked them for their love and services, and earnestly intreated them to love and serve his son with the same fidelity and zeal. He desired them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy with the greatest care, and to make him an offer of the regency of France; but if he declined it, he appointed his brother, the duke of Bedford, to that high office, and his other brother, the duke of Gloucester, to the regency of England, which he then possessed. To the earl of Warwick he committed the care of the person and education of his son. He conjured them to console his disconsolate queen, and to maintain love and

Henry's death.

¹⁰³ Elmham, c. 127. Walſing. p. 406.

concord

A.D. 1422.

concord amongst his friends. He gave them in charge, not to liberate the duke of Orleans, and the other noble prisoners, while his son was under age; nor to make peace with France, without obtaining Normandy at least in full sovereignty¹⁰⁴. Exhausted by this effort, he soon after expired, August 31, A. D. 1422, in the 34th year of his age, after a short but glorious reign of nine years, five months, and fourteen days¹⁰⁵.

His character.

Thus died, in the prime of life, and in the full career of glory, Henry V. one of the best, bravest, and most fortunate princes that ever wore the diadem of England. His person is thus described by one who had often seen him: "In stature he was a little above the middle size; his countenance was beautiful, his neck long, his body slender, and his limbs most elegantly formed. He was very strong, and so swift, that, with two companions, without either dogs or missile weapons, he caught a doe, one of the fleetest animals. He was a lover of music, and excelled in all martial and manly exercises¹⁰⁶." Some of our contemporary historians have heaped upon this prince, with a liberal but injudicious hand, all the praises they could collect, expressed in the most extravagant and bombastic language¹⁰⁷. It may, however, be affirmed, without the least exaggeration, that he possessed an excellent understanding, which enabled him to form his designs with judg-

¹⁰⁴ Elmham, c. 27.¹⁰⁵ Walsing. p. 407.¹⁰⁶ Tit. Livii Vita Hen. V. p. 4.¹⁰⁷ Elmham, c. 128. *et passim*.

ment,

ment, and to chuse the most effectual means, and favourable seasons, for carrying them into execution. His heart was as warm as his head was cool, and his courage equal to his wisdom, which emboldened him to encounter the greatest dangers and surmount the greatest difficulties. His virtues were not inferior to his abilities, being a dutiful son, a fond husband, an affectionate brother, a steady and generous friend, and an indulgent master. His youthful excesses proceeded rather from redundancy of spirit than depravity of heart. His intolerance and severity to those who dissented from the established system of religion, was the vice of the age rather than of the man. The injustice of his attempt to obtain the crown of France cannot be denied; but the probability of its success, from the distracted state of that kingdom, was too great a temptation to be resisted by a young, warlike, and ambitious prince. In a word, Henry V. thought not without his failings, merits the character of an amiable and accomplished man, a great and good king.

A. D. 1422.

SECTION III.

The civil and military history of England, from the accession of Henry VI. A. D. 1422, to the accession of Edward IV. A. D. 1461.

HENRY VI. the only child of Henry V. was not quite nine months old at the death of his illustrious father. That melancholy event seems to

A. D. 1422.
Accession
of Henry
VI.

A.D. 1422. to have been kept secret for some time; for the infant prince was not proclaimed king in London till October 1st. Some commotions were raised in the marches of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, on this occasion; but they were soon suppressed².

Parliament.

A parliament was summoned to meet at Westminster, November 9, in which the duke of Gloucester represented the king's person by commission³. Though the people of England lamented the death, and revered the memory, of their late king, the parliament did not think proper to confirm all the verbal arrangements he had made in his last moments. Disliking the title of regent, as implying too much power, they appointed the duke of Bedford protector of the kingdom and church of England, and chief counsellor of the king, when he resided in the kingdom, with a salary of 8000 marks a-year; and the duke of Gloucester to exercise the same office, with the same powers and emoluments, when his brother was abroad⁴. Still further to limit the power of the protector, a council was constituted, with which he was to consult on all important affairs, and a certain salary granted to each member, according to his rank⁵. Several wise regulations were also made for defining the powers and privileges of the members of this council, and for securing their attendance.

State of affairs in France.

The affairs of the dauphin were almost desperate before the death of Henry V. which a little re-

² Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 254.

³ Id. *ibid.* p. 254.

⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 257. ⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 261. 262.

⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 360.

vived

vived his hopes. He did not, however, reap any immediate advantage from that event; nor did his affairs put on a more favourable aspect for some time. John duke of Bedford, regent of France, was hardly inferior to the late king in wisdom, valour, or any commendable quality; he even excelled him in clemency and command of temper. He was nobly supported by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Warwick, Salisbury, and Arundel, the brave and generous Talbot, and other generals, at the head of valiant and victorious troops. About two third parts of France, with the capital, were in the hands of the English and Burgundians; and they received frequent supplies, both of men and money, from England and Flanders. The duke of Brittany, who had hitherto remained neuter, acceded to the treaty of Troyes immediately after the king's death, and brought an accession of strength to the English interest. The military operations proceeded without much interruption, or any remarkable change of fortune, for a considerable time.

A. D. 1422.

Charles VI. of France did not long survive his son-in-law the king of England; but ended his unhappy life, and calamitous reign, in great obscurity, at his palace of St. Paul in Paris, October 21, A. D. 1422. This event, though afflictive to the dauphin as a son, was of great advantage to his affairs. Very many of the people of France, of all ranks, who, from a principle of loyalty, had thought themselves obliged to obey Charles as their king, though they disapproved of his

Death of
Charles
VI.

A. D. 1422.

his connections with the English, and dreaded the subjection of their country to a foreign yoke, now turned their eyes towards the dauphin as their lawful sovereign, and determined to support his title to the crown. A kind of interregnum succeeded the death of Charles VI. the parliament of Paris declining to use the name of Henry VI. of England in any of their acts, till about three weeks after, when Henry was proclaimed king of France, in Paris, by command of the duke of Bedford⁶.

Accession
of Charles
VII.

When the news of the death of Charles VI. reached the castle of Espally, where the dauphin then resided, he was immediately proclaimed king of France by his followers, and was crowned a few days after, at Poitiers, with all the solemnity his circumstances would permit⁷.

State of
Charles
VII. at his
accession.

The affairs of Charles VII. at his accession were in a very low state, and seemingly almost desperate. He was only about twenty years of age, and of a character very unfit for surmounting great difficulties, being indolent rather than active, and more addicted to pleasure than to war or business: his queen, Mary of Anjou, was a princess of great beauty and virtue; but she did not possess the heart of her voluptuous husband, which was devoted to his mistress, Agnes Sorrel: his favourites and ministers were neither men of great virtues nor great abilities: his finances were so low, that he could hardly support his little court in decent plenty: the duke of Brittany, one of the greatest vassals of his crown, had declared against him:

⁶ Villar, tom. 14. p. 172.

⁷ Id. *ibid.* p. 264.

the

the duke of Burgundy, the most powerful prince of his family, was his mortal enemy: several of the other princes of his blood, as the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Angouleme, and Vendome, were prisoners in England: the English were in possession of his capital, and two thirds of his kingdom: no foreign nation had espoused his cause, except the Scots. But in the midst of all these disadvantages, he possessed one advantage, the full extent and value of which he did not know;—he had the hearts of all the people of France, who hated the English and loved their country.

A. D. 1422.

While the adherents of Charles were crowning him at Poitiers, the duke of Bedford held a great assembly at Paris, consisting of the parliament, the university, the archbishop and his clergy, the magistrates and chief burgesses of that city, who all swore fealty to Henry VI. king of England, as king of France. The same ceremony was performed in all the other cities, towns, and provinces of France, in subjection to the English and Burgundians*. Thus there were two kings of France; and which of them should possess the kingdom, was to be decided by the sword, the last argument of kings.

French
swear
fealty to
Henry.

The duke of Bedford spent the first months of this year in fixing the duke of Brittany in the English interest. With this view, he had a meeting at Amiens with that duke, his brother Arthur earl of Richmond, and the duke of Burgundy. At

A. D. 1423.
Treaty of
Amiens.

* Villar, tom. 24. p. 266.

that

A. D. 1423. that meeting, these princes entered into a strict alliance, and solemnly swore to love one another as brothers as long as they lived. To cement this union, one marriage was contracted between the duke of Bedford and the princess Anne, youngest sister of the duke of Burgundy, and another between the earl of Richmond and the princess Margaret, an elder sister of that duke; and these marriages were soon after solemnized⁹. We shall see, in the sequel, what regard these great princes and sworn brothers paid to their oaths and engagements.

Military
operations.

As soon as the season for taking the field arrived, France became a theatre of war almost from one end to the other. A minute detail of skirmishes, the taking and retaking of trifling towns and castles, could afford no entertainment to any reader. I shall therefore only mention such events as were of some importance towards the decision of this fatal contest.

Battle of
Crevant.

James Stewart, lord Darnley, at the head of the Scotch auxiliaries, and the marshal Severac, with a body of French troops, in July besieged Crevant in Burgundy; and the earl of Salisbury, marching an army of English and Burgundians to its relief, a bloody battle was fought, in which the French basely deserted their allies, and the English and Burgundians obtained a complete victory. The loss fell chiefly on the Scots, of whom, it is said, 3000 were killed, and 2000, with their general, taken¹⁰.

⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 280.

¹⁰ Hall, Hen. VI. f. 4.

Charles,

Charles, soon after this great loss, which had almost ruined his affairs, received a body of auxiliaries from the duke of Milan; who, with some French troops, surprised the Burgundian marshal, Toulongion, and took him prisoner, with 600 men. Toulongion was exchanged for the Scotch general, James lord Darnley. The French royalists, towards the end of this campaign, defeated, at Gravelle in Maine, a body of English, commanded by sir John de la Pole, who, with several other gentlemen, was taken prisoner ¹¹.

A. D. 1423.
 Successes
 of the
 French.

The earl of Buchan, constable of France, had visited his native country; and, by his interest with his brother, Murdoch duke of Albany, the regent, obtained a reinforcement of 5000 men, with which he, and Archibald earl of Douglas, landed at Rochelle. This was a most seasonable aid to Charles in his distress; for which he expressed his gratitude, by granting the dukedom of Touraine to the earl of Douglas, and the lordship of Aubigné to James lord Darnley. He further expressed his confidence in the Scots, by committing the guard of his person to a select body of that nation ¹².

Reinforce-
 ment from
 Scotland.

The spring of this year, like that of the last, was spent in besieging and surprising places of little consequence. In summer, an English army, commanded by the earl of Salisbury, besieged Ivry, a place of some importance, on account of its strength and situation. The governor, after a brave defence, agreed to surrender, if he was not

A. D. 1424.
 Battle of
 Verneuil.

¹¹ Hall, Hen. VI. f. 5.

¹² Buchanan, l. 10. Villar, tom. 14. p. 291.

A. D. 1424.

relieved before the 15th of August. King Charles, by collecting his troops, made up an army consisting of 7000 Scots, 1500 Italians, and 10,000 French, commanded by the earl of Douglas, lately created lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who marched to the relief of Ivry, and came within sight of it, August 13. On taking a view of the English camp (into which the duke of Bedford, with all the troops he could collect, had entered a few days before), he found it so strong, that it could not be forced. He therefore retired, and invested Verneuil in Perche. As soon as Ivry surrendered, the duke of Bedford marched towards Verneuil, to raise the siege, or give the enemy battle. At his arrival, the town being taken, he chose convenient ground, and prepared for a general action, which he earnestly desired. The earl of Douglas called a council to determine whether it would be most prudent to fight, or to avoid a battle. The wiser members of the council declared for retiring, and gave the most cogent reasons for their opinion. But a great number of young French noblemen loudly insisted upon fighting; and that rash counsel was adopted, and as rashly executed: for, instead of chusing proper ground for themselves, they advanced, in a disorderly manner, to attack the English in their advantageous station. This was owing to the viscount de Narbonne, who led on his troops without orders, and was followed by many others, in spite of all the general could do to restrain them; for, being a foreigner, and an object of envy, he had not sufficient

sufficient authority. The duke of Bedford had drawn up his archers, on whom he chiefly relied, in one line, with their sharp-pointed stakes before them. The Italians fled at the first discharge of the English archers. The French and Scots fought with great bravery, and held the victory in suspense almost three hours; but at length were entirely defeated, and pursued with great slaughter. The earl of Buchan, constable of France, the earl of Douglas, and his son lord James, sir Alexander Meldrum, and many other Scotchmen of rank and merit, fell in this fatal action. Of the French, four earls, two viscounts, eight barons, and 300 knights, were slain. The young duke of Alençon was dangerously wounded, and taken prisoner, with the marshal Fayette, and many other lords and gentlemen. The English left above 2000 of their men dead on this field of blood, and their enemies above double that number¹³.

A.D. 1424.

The affairs of Charles VII. seemed now quite desperate. He had lost his only army, and had no means of raising another: his most powerful friends were either killed or taken prisoners: the king of Scotland was set at liberty, and had made a seven years truce with England; which deprived him of all hopes of any further aid from that quarter: he was himself devoted to pleasure, and governed by worthless favourites.

Bad state
of France.

But notwithstanding all these unpromising appearances, the situation of this prince was not so hopeless as either he or the world imagined. The

Discord
between
the English
and their
allies.¹³ Hall, Hen. VI. f. 8. Villar, tom. 14. p. 296—299.

A. D. 1424.

seeds of discord between the English and their allies were already sown, and soon came to maturity. Jaqueline, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friezland, who was married to her cousin John duke of Brabant, by the influence of the duke of Burgundy, cousin-german to them both, disliked her husband, and made her escape into England a little before the death of Henry V. by whom she was hospitably entertained. The duke of Gloucester cast his eyes on this great heiress, and married her, though her former marriage was not dissolved. The duke of Burgundy was greatly irritated at this step; but the duke of Bedford found means to calm his anger, and keep it within bounds, as long as the duke of Brabant was not disturbed in the possession of his wife's dominions. This, however, was not very long: for as the duke of Gloucester had been prompted to this fatal marriage by ambition more than love, he became impatient to seize the splendid inheritance of his wife. With this view he raised an army in England this summer, with which he landed at Calais in October, a few weeks after the battle of Verneuil. The duke of Burgundy was much pleased with the landing of this army, being persuaded that it was designed to assist in completing the conquest of France. But how great was his surprise and indignation, when he received intelligence, that the duke of Gloucester had marched into Hainault, to take possession of that country in virtue of his marriage? Being then engaged in celebrating his own nuptials with the duchess-dowager of Nevers, he recalled his

his troops from the combined army in France, and sent them, with his other forces, to the assistance of the duke of Brabant, which soon put a stop to the progress of the duke of Gloucester. Arthur earl of Richmond, discontented because he had been refused the command of the English army, made his peace with Charles, and accepted of the high office of constable of France, vacant by the death of the earl of Buchan. He also prevailed upon his brother the duke of Brittany to violate all his oaths, and enter into an alliance with the French monarch. These untoward events prevented the duke of Bedford from pursuing his victory at Verneuil, and lost him an opportunity of subduing France, which could never be recovered¹⁴. Let no nation exult in its success until it is complete, or despair of its safety until it is subdued.

A. D. 1424.



The English ministry were at variance amongst themselves, as well as with their allies. A quarrel very early commenced between the duke of Gloucester, protector, and his uncle Henry Beaufort, the rich and haughty bishop of Winchester; which was now on the point of producing a civil war. To prevent this, the duke of Bedford came over to England in the beginning of this year; and after many efforts, a kind of reconciliation was patched up between the protector and the prelate, by a parliament held at Leicester in March¹⁵. But this reconciliation was neither sincere nor lasting.

A. D. 1425.

Discord among the English ministers.

¹⁴ Villar, tom. 14. p. 303—319. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 10, 11.

¹⁵ Hall, Hen. VI. f. 12—13.

A.D. 1426,
and
A.D. 1427.
Invasion of
Britanny.

The duke of Bedford, after spending about a year in England, returned to France; and being justly irritated at the duke of Brittany for his violation of his most solemn engagements at Amiens, invaded his country, and compelled him to relinquish his late alliance with France, to swear once more to the treaty of Troyes, and to do homage to the king of England, as king of France, for his dominions¹⁶. But as both that duke and his subjects hated the English, and favoured the French, this change was the mere effect of force, and continued no longer than that force continued.

Diffen-
sions in
the court
of France.

King Charles did not make all the advantage he might have made of the discord which reigned among the English ministers, and between them and their allies. His own little court was a scene of discord and intrigue. Fond of the pleasures of love and friendship, he could not live without a mistress and a favourite. The martial nobles in general hated the favourites, by whom they were treated with very little ceremony; and the earl of Richmond, the constable, declared open war against them. He compelled Charles to banish Tanneguy du Chatel, and Louvel, his two great favourites, and he put their successor Giac to death, and caused Beaulieu to be assassinated; which rendered him exceedingly odious to his new master, and prevented his doing so much service as he could and would have done¹⁷. The military operations, therefore, in France, during the absence of the duke of Bedford, were of little conse-

¹⁶ Montfretet, vol. 2. p. 35, 36.

¹⁷ Villar, t. 14. p. 315—327.

quence; and the disgraces, rather than advantages, on both sides nearly equal. If the constable Richmond was obliged to raise the siege of St. James de Beuvron, the earl of Warwick, lieutenant for the duke of Bedford, was defeated before Montargis¹⁸.

A. D. 1426,
&c.

Ever since the invasion of Hainault by the duke of Gloucester and his duchess Jaqueline, the duke of Burgundy had employed the greatest part of his forces in supporting his cousin the duke of Brabant in his possession of the dominions of his unfaithful consort. When Gloucester returned to England, he left his duchess in Mons; and she was soon after given up by the citizens of that place to the duke of Burgundy, who conducted her to Gant, June 13, A. D. 1426. In September she made her escape from thence, and fled into Holland; which for two years became the seat of war between her and her subjects, supported by men and money from England on the one side, and the dukes of Burgundy and Brabant on the other. In the mean time a process was carried on in the court of Rome concerning her two marriages; and at length the pope, Martin V. pronounced a decree annulling her marriage with the duke of Gloucester, and confirming that with the duke of Brabant, and declaring that she could not be united to the former even after the death of the latter. The duke of Gloucester, now at last convinced of his folly, when it was too late to prevent the many mischiefs it had produced, relinquished his pretensions to Jaqueline and her ter-

War in
Brabant.

¹⁸ P. Dancel, tom. 6..35.

A. D. 1426, ritories, and married his former mistress Eleonora Cobham¹⁹.
 &c.

A. D. 1428. The war in France, which had languished ever since the battle of Verneuil, was now revived and prosecuted with vigour; the parliament of England having granted a liberal supply for that purpose, and the fatal dispute about the territories of the countess Jaqueline being ended. Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, the most renowned warrior of that age, was appointed, by the duke of Bedford, commander of the English army, to which he brought a reinforcement of six knight-bannerets, thirty-four knight bachelors, 600 men at arms, and 1700 archers²⁰. The earl, determined to carry the war into the provinces beyond the Loire, resolved (without consulting the regent, who remained at Paris) to make himself master of the city of Orleans, which would open him a passage into those provinces²¹. With this view he besieged and took Meun, Jenville, and several other places in the neighbourhood, and sat down before Orleans, October 12²². His previous operations had given the French sufficient intimation of his design; and they had destroyed the suburbs, repaired the fortifications, furnished the place with a numerous garrison, and ample stores of ammunition and provision. The bastards of Orleans, Xaintrays, La Hire, Fayette, and many of the bravest captains

¹⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 374. Stow, p. 366, 367.

²⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 392.

²¹ Id. ibid. p. 408.

²² Monstrelet, tom. 2. fol. 38.

in

in France, threw themselves into it, determined to defend it to the last extremity²³. These circumstances rendered the siege of Orleans an object of anxious attention to both parties; and it was generally believed that the fate of France would depend very much on the issue of that siege.

A.D. 1428.

The earl of Salisbury had not an army sufficient to invest so great a city as Orleans on all sides; he therefore made his approaches from the south; and at the second assault took the castle called *Tourelles*, which defended the bridge over the Loire, October 24. But this important acquisition proved fatal to the English general, who was mortally wounded by a cannon ball, October 27, as he was taking a view of the city from the window of a high tower in the castle; and being carried to Meun, he died there November 3²⁴.

Death of
the earl of
Salisbury.

By the death of the earl of Salisbury (saith an ancient historian), the duke of Bedford lost his right hand, and the fortune of the war was changed²⁵. He was succeeded in the command of the army, and conduct of the siege, by the earl of Suffolk, assisted by lord Talbot, lord Scales, sir John Fastolf, and others. These captains, being convinced that it would be impossible to take the city while the garrison had a free communication with the country on one side, built a line of redoubts, then called bastiles, at certain distances from each other, quite around it. In these bastiles

Siege of
Orleans
continued.²³ Monstrelet, t. 2. fol. 39.²⁴ Id. ibid. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 23.²⁵ Id. ibid. Monstrelet, f. 39.

they

A.D. 1428.

they lodged their troops; and on some of the largest of them they planted cannon²⁶.

A.D. 1429.

Battle of
Herrings.

After these forts were built, the communication between the city and the country was so much interrupted, that the besieged began to dread a scarcity of provisions; and their attempts to introduce them occasioned many skirmishes. Nor did the besiegers enjoy much greater plenty in an exhausted country. The regent collected a great convoy at Paris, consisting of between 400 and 500 carriages, loaded with arms, artillery, ammunition, and provisions, for the army before Orleans, and committed the conducting of it to sir John Fastolf, with 1600 men. They proceeded without interruption, till they arrived at the village of Roveroy, between Jenville and Orleans; where, on February 12, they were met by the earl of Clermont, the bastard of Orleans, the constable of Scotland, and other great captains, at the head of near 4000 French and Scotch troops. As sir John Fastolf had timely notice of their approach, he surrounded his little army with his carriages, leaving only two passages, which he guarded by his best archers; and in that posture calmly waited for the enemy. The Scotch and French commanders differed about the manner of the attack; the former insisting that it should be made on foot, and the other that it should be made on horseback: and each nation followed its own opinion. The Scots, dismounting, made a furious attack upon the two passages; but were repulsed with great

²⁶ Monstrelet, f. 39.

slaughter

slaughter by the English archers. The constable and his son being both slain, their troops fell into disorder; and the English, rushing out upon them, obtained a complete victory. The loss fell chiefly upon the Scots, as the French, being generally mounted, made their escape. One hundred and twenty gentlemen, and about 600 common soldiers of the Scotch and French, fell in this action, which was called *the battle of berrings*, because the convoy brought great quantities of that fish for the use of the army in Lent²⁷.

A. D. 1424.

The French were as much dejected as the English were elated by the event of this action. King Charles, now beginning to despair of being able to preserve Orleans, sent ambassadors to the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, at Paris, with a proposal to surrender Orleans to the duke of Burgundy, to be kept by him to the end of the war. After several councils were held on this proposal, it was rejected; which increased the secret disgust of the duke of Burgundy with his English allies²⁸.

Proposal about Orleans rejected.

The exultation of the English, and dejection of the French, on this occasion, were both of short duration; and a most surprising change of fortune, brought about by the most improbable means, now took place between these two nations. This great change was not produced by the interposition of a mighty monarch, but of a poor, obscure country girl. The real name of this extraordinary person (to whom the French monarchy owes its preserva-

Maid of Orleans.

²⁷ Monstrelet, f. 42.²⁸ Ibid. f. 45.

tion)

A.D. 1429.

tion) was Joan of Arc, better known in history by her acquired name of—*The Maid of Orleans*. She was born, A. D. 1407, in the parish of Greux, upon the Meuse, in the village of Dompré. Her parents, being poor, could give her no fortune, and little education; and she spent her youth in the service of several families, particularly of a widow who kept an inn at Neufchatel in Lorraine. In this service she often acted as hostler, and rode the horses to water; by which she learnt to ride. She was robust, active, and intrepid; but nothing very uncommon appeared in her character while she was a servant. The siege of Orleans, the distresses of the French, and the danger that king Charles was in of losing his kingdom, were the subjects of every conversation. These conversations made a deep impression on the mind of this young woman; and her hatred of the English, and compassion for the French, were wrought up to the highest pitch. At length, her imagination was so heated, that she fancied she conversed with St. Margaret and St. Catharine, who commanded her, in the name of God, to go and raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct king Charles to be crowned at Rheims. Fully convinced that she was called by Heaven to perform these exploits, she applied to Baudrecourt, governor of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleur, earnestly requesting him to send her to the king at Chinon. Baudrecourt believed her to be frantic, and treated her with contempt; but her importunity, the ardour of her looks and language, at last prevailed upon him to put her into a man's dress,

dress, to give her arms, and send her with a letter to the king, under the conduct of two gentlemen and their servants²⁹.

A.D. 1429.

When Joan arrived at court, in the end of February, she excited much curiosity, but gained little credit to her wondrous tale. It was deliberated two days whether she should be admitted into the royal presence. Curiosity prevailed: she was admitted; and, with an air of respectful freedom, addressed the king in these words: "Gentle daughter, my name is Joan the Maid; the King of heaven hath sent me to your assistance: if you please to grant me troops, by the grace of God, and the force of arms, I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of all your enemies. This is what the King of heaven hath commanded me to tell you³⁰." Enthusiasm, as well as terror, is infectious. Her message was agreeable, her manner affecting; and she made converts of all who heard her. The courtiers, the clergy, the parliament, declared they were convinced that Joan was commissioned by Heaven to deliver France, and to expel the English. This news, accompanied by many additional and marvellous circumstances, flew like lightning over all France, and revived the sinking spirit of the nation. This intelligence produced a very different effect in the English army before Orleans. The soldiers were struck with dismay and horror at the thoughts of

At court.

²⁹ Monstrelet, f. 42. Villar, tom. 14. p. 374—376.

³⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 377.

fighting

A.D. 1429.

fighting against Heaven; and it gave them but little comfort, when their leaders assured them that Joan was only in compact with the devil.

Jean en-
ters Or-
leans.

The siege of Orleans had continued about seven months; and the English had constructed no fewer than sixty forts around that city, which could not possibly have held out much longer; when a great convoy of arms, ammunition, and provisions, which had been collected at Blois, was dispatched, April 25, to its relief, escorted by about 5000 men, commanded by La Hire, the marshal Bouffac, the admiral Culant, and other brave captains. The maid (as she was called), at her own earnest request, accompanied this convoy, riding in the front of the army, nobly mounted, and completely armed, displaying her standard; which inspired the troops with an ardour for action, and a confidence of success, to which they had long been strangers. The convoy approached Orleans April 29; and, after a very feeble and spiritless resistance by the English, was conveyed into the city without any loss. The bastard of Orleans was sent out, at the head of a powerful party, to introduce their heaven-delegated deliverer; and the maid entered in triumph, amidst the loud acclamations of the garrison and citizens³¹.

The siege
of Orleans
raised.

The French remained no longer on the defensive, but sallied almost every day, and took several of the strongest forts of the English, with great slaughter. Though these sallies were conducted by the bravest generals, they wisely gave all the honour of their success to the maid, who accom-

³¹ Monstrelet, f. 44. printed, by mistake, 46.

panied

panied them with her standard, in order to increase the martial enthusiasm of their troops. The earl of Suffolk, after he had lost 6000 of his men, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to raise the siege. This was accordingly done May 8; and the English army, greatly dispirited, retired into such strong places in the neighbourhood as were in their possession¹².

A.D. 1429.

By these events, the character claimed by the Maid of Orleans was established, both among her friends and enemies. Even the duke of Bedford believed that she possessed supernatural powers; though he inclined to think that these powers were derived from hell rather than from heaven. This appears from the following letter of his to the king and council of England: "Alle thing there
 " prospered for you, til the tyme of the siege of
 " Orleans, taken in hand, God knoweth by what
 " advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure
 " fallen to the persone of my cousin of Salysbury,
 " whom God assoille, there felle, by the hand of
 " God, as it seemeth, a greet strook upon your
 " people that was assembled there in grete nombre,
 " caused in grete partie, as y trowe, of lakke of
 " fadde belive, and of unlevefulle doubtte that thei
 " hadde of a disciple and lyme of the Fiende,
 " called the Pucelle (Maid), that used fals en-
 " chauntments and sorcerie. The whiche strooke
 " and discomfiture nought oonly lessed in grete
 " partie the nombre of youre people there, but as
 " well withdrowe the courage of the remenant in

History of
the Maid
continued.¹² Monstrelet, f. 46.

" merveil-

A. D. 1429. “ merveilous wyfe, and couraiged youre adverfe
 “ partie and enemys ³³.”

Successes
of the
French.

The French generals, wisely resolving not to allow the ardour of their own troops to cool, nor to give the English time to recover from their consternation, invested Gergeaux, June 12, into which the earl of Suffolk had retired with about 1200 men. The town was taken by scalade: one half of the garrison was killed, the other half, with the earl of Suffolk and one of his brothers, were made prisoners ³⁴. Meun and Beaugency soon after shared the same fate ³⁵. At all these sieges the Maid of Orleans assisted, behaving with the greatest intrepidity, and encouraging the troops by her words and her example. At the scalade of Gergeaux, she was wounded on the head, and thrown from the top of her ladder into the ditch; from whence she cried, with a loud and animating voice,—“ Advance, advance, my brave
 “ countrymen; the Lord hath doomed the English
 “ to destruction ³⁶.”

The constable joins
the army.

When the French were engaged in the siege of Beaugency, they received a considerable reinforcement by the arrival of the constable Arthur earl of Richmond, at the head of 1200 men at arms, besides other troops, which he had raised in Brittany. The constable had rendered himself so odious to the king, and his present favourite Trimouille, by his persecution of the former favourites, that it was with difficulty Charles could be prevailed upon to

³³ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 408.

³⁴ Monstrelet, f. 45. Hall, f. 26.

³⁵ Id. ibid.

³⁶ Villar, t. 10. p. 397.

accept

accept his services, or permit his troops to join the army, which was greatly strengthened by that junction³⁷.

A. D. 1429.

The duke of Bedford, recovered a little from the astonishment into which the late singular events had thrown him, collected about 4000 men, and sent them to join the remains of the English army, now commanded by the brave lord Talbot. When this reinforcement, conducted by sir John Fastolf, joined lord Talbot, they formed an army, which the French a few months before would not have dared to approach. The French commanders held a council of war, in which they consulted their oracle, the Maid of Orleans; who cried out,—“In the name of God, let us fight the English, though they were suspended in the clouds!—“But where (said they) shall we find them?—“March! march! (cried she,) and God will be your guide.”—When these sayings were published in the army, every soldier became impatient for action and confident of victory. The two armies met, June 18, at the village of Patay near Anville. In the English army all was discord and confusion, some insisting that they should fight on foot, and some that they should fight on horseback; and before any order could be restored, they were attacked with great fury. The brave lord Talbot fought with his usual firmness; but a great part of the army fled without striking a stroke, and, amongst others, the famous sir John Fastolf, who was therefore deprived of the garter, with which he had been

Battle of Patay.

³⁷ Villar, tom. 10. p. 398.

A. D. 1429.

honoured. The French obtained a complete victory: 1800 of the English were killed; the lords Talbot, Scales, Hungerford, and about 100 gentlemen, were taken prisoners²⁸.

Charles
crowned
at Rheims.

These rapid successes of the French arms greatly increased the fame and influence of the Maid of Orleans, to whom they were imputed; and the greatest generals thought it prudent to comply with her proposals, even when they did not approve them. Having performed her first promise, by raising the siege of Orleans, she now strenuously insisted on the immediate march of the army to Rheims, in order to the performance of the second, by the coronation of the king in that city. It was evidently a dangerous operation, to march a small army of 10,000 men through a country full of strong places in possession of the enemy. But every danger and difficulty vanished before the Maid: Charles met with little or no opposition on his march, and entered Rheims in triumph, July 16, where, two days after, he was solemnly crowned and anointed, amidst the loudest acclamations of the people²⁹. No object attracted so much notice on this occasion as the Maid of Orleans; she stood by the king's side, with her banner displayed, during the whole ceremony; and as soon as it was ended, she fell prostrate at his feet, embraced his knees, and with a flood of tears entreated his permission to return to her former station. But Charles had reaped so many advantages from her presence, and expected so many more, that he could not be

²⁸ Monstrelet, f. 45.²⁹ Id. f. 48.

prevailed upon to grant her that permission; and she was constrained to remain in the army⁴⁰.

A.D. 1429.

This coronation of king Charles was far from being a vain unprofitable ceremony. From that moment the French, even in those parts of the kingdom that were under the dominion of the English, turned their eyes towards him as their lawful sovereign, and a prince favoured by heaven; and in a few days he had the satisfaction of receiving the submission of Laon, Soissons, Crespy, La Ferté-Milon, Chateau-Thierry, Creil, Coulommiers, Provins, and many other strong places, whose inhabitants had expelled their English and Burgundian garrisons⁴¹.

Many places surrender to him.

The duke of Bedford, in the mean time, was far from being idle. Knowing that king Charles had made advances to the duke of Burgundy, he, by the most earnest applications, prevailed upon that prince to come to Paris, in the beginning of July, and renew his alliance with England⁴². The duke of Burgundy left Paris, July 16, to collect his troops; and two days after the duke of Bedford set out for Normandy, to raise the forces of that province, and to meet his uncle, Henry bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of England, who had landed at Calais with 5000 men, originally intended for a croisade against the Hussites in Bohemia, but now to be employed in France⁴³. Bedford, having raised about 5000 men in Normandy and Picardy, and being joined by the cardinal's army, marched in quest of king Charles, in order

Military operations.

⁴⁰ Villar, tom. 14. p. 433.

⁴¹ Id. ibid. p. 435.

⁴² Monstrelet, f. 47.

⁴³ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 433.

A. D. 1429.

to give him battle. From Montreau-sur-Yonne, August 7, he sent that prince a challenge to decide their important quarrel by a general action; to which it doth not appear that he received any answer⁴⁴. A few days after, the two armies came in fight, near Senlis; and when they had faced each other two days, they separated without a battle⁴⁵.

Continued.

The duke of Bedford, finding that he could not bring the French army to action, marched back to Paris, and from thence hastened into Normandy, to oppose the earl of Richmond, constable of France, who had made an inroad into that province⁴⁶. In his absence, king Charles made an attempt on the capital; but, after an unsuccessful assault, in which the Maid of Orleans was dangerously wounded, he was obliged to retire, and, marching southward, received the voluntary submission of several towns. Thus ended the military operations of this memorable year, in which the fortunes of the two contending nations so entirely changed.

Maid of Orleans ennobled.

The king of France was not ungrateful to the person who had been the visible instrument of this happy change in his condition. He not only ennobled the Maid of Orleans, but also her parents, brothers, and sisters, extending that privilege to all their posterity of both sexes⁴⁷.

Dukes of Bedford and Burgundy at Paris.

The brave and active duke of Bedford, having compelled the constable to evacuate Normandy, returned to Paris to receive the duke of Burgundy,

⁴⁴ Monstrelet, f. 3.⁴⁵ Id. f. 50.⁴⁶ Villar, tom. 14. p. 447.⁴⁷ Id. *ibid.* p. 470.

who

who entered that city, September 29, at the head of 4000 men. Knowing that king Charles had made that prince the most tempting offers to detach him from his alliance with England, the duke of Bedford granted all he desired, to keep him steady in that alliance. With that view, he was constituted governor of Paris, and regent for the king of England of all the kingdom of France, except Normandy, till Easter⁴⁸. After spending some weeks at Paris in settling the plan of the next campaign, the two dukes separated, seemingly in the most perfect friendship.

A.D. 1429.

The duke of Bedford, having observed the great effects produced by the coronation of king Charles at Rheims, had importuned the protector and council of England, to send over young king Henry to be crowned at Paris. The English council, thinking it decent that he should first be crowned in England, that ceremony was performed, at Westminster, November 6, A.D. 1429⁴⁹. The wealth of England was so much exhausted by this long and expensive war, that it required no less than six months to raise as much money as was necessary to defray the expences of the king's voyage to France; and this money was chiefly raised by pawning the jewels of the crown, and by extorting loans, some of them so low as five marks⁵⁰. At length the young king embarked at Dover, April 27, A. D. 1430, and landed at Calais the same day, attended by the chief nobility of England, and a

A.D. 1430.
Henry
crowned at
London
and Paris.⁴⁸ Monstrelet, f. 53.⁴⁹ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 436.⁵⁰ Id. ibid. p. 455-467.

A. D. 1430.

considerable number of troops. But many of these troops were so terrified by the reports they heard of the Maid of Orleans, that they immediately deserted, and returned to England; which obliged the duke of Gloucester to issue a proclamation for apprehending them, wherever they could be found⁵¹. From Calais Henry was conducted to Rouen, where he resided about eighteen months; as it appears, from the best authority, that he was not crowned at Paris till December 17, A. D. 1431⁵². The delay of his coronation proceeded from the same cause with the delay of his voyage, viz. the want of money; and yet all the money bestowed upon both was thrown away, as they produced no good effect.

Maid of
Orleans
taken
prisoner.

Soon after the arrival of king Henry in France, an event happened which filled the English with the most lively transports of joy. This was the capture of the Maid of Orleans, who for some time past had been the great object of their dread and hatred. That intrepid heroine had fought her way into the town of Compeigne, which was besieged by the English and Burgundians; and on the very next day, May 25, she headed a sally, which at first was successful, but at last repulsed. The Maid, as usual, placed herself in the rear of her troops, and frequently faced about on the pursuers, and put them to a stand. At length, being surrounded, and pulled from her horse, finding it

⁵¹ Rym. Fœd, tom. 10. p. 472.

⁵² Villar, tom. 15. p. 96. From the register of the parliament of Paris.

impos-

impossible to escape, she surrendered herself a prisoner to the bastard of Vendome, who delivered her to John de Luxembourg, earl of Ligny, commander of the Burgundian army. The joy of the English and Burgundians on this occasion was excessive; and the whole camp resounded with loud reiterated acclamations⁵³. There were as great rejoicings at Paris, and other places in possession of the English, as if they had obtained the most decisive victory.

A. D. 1430.

The unhappy Maid, from the first moment of her captivity, was ungratefully neglected by her friends, and cruelly treated by her enemies. The duke of Bedford, having bought her from the earl of Ligny for the enormous sum of £ 10,000, and an annuity of £ 300 to the bastard of Vendome, she was conducted to Rouen, thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. In this deplorable state, she languished many months, while her enemies were contriving the mode of proceeding against her, in order to secure her condemnation. Messengers were sent to the place of her nativity, to investigate the actions of her youth; but the reports they brought back were not unfavourable. As a prisoner of war she was intitled to be treated with civility, and either to be exchanged or ransomed. At length a commission was granted to the bishop of Beauvais, brother Martin, vicar-general of the inquisition, and certain doctors of the canon law, to try her for heresy, forcery, and witchcraft. All her judges were zealous in the English interest, and determined, if possible, to find her guilty. These judges held

A. D. 1431.

Her trial.

⁵³ Villar, tom. 15. p. 19.

A. D. 1431.

their first session, February 13, A. D. 1431; when their forlorn prisoner was brought before them, loaded with irons, from which she earnestly intreated them to relieve her, but in vain. In that, and fifteen succeeding sessions, they asked her a prodigious number of questions, many of them very artful and ensnaring; but though she was quite illiterate, and was not allowed the assistance of any counsel, she answered all their questions in a manner so acute and guarded, that they gained no advantage. In a word, they could discover nothing on which to found a sentence of condemnation, except—that she had worn man's clothes and arms, and engaged in war—and that she persisted in declaring, that she believed the visions she had seen were real visions. Her prosecutors then laboured to work upon the two powerful passions of the love of life, and fear of death—by painting, in the strongest colours, the horrors of that sentence which was to be pronounced upon her—and by persuading her to make a recantation, in order to save both her body and her soul from torment. At length, she consented to subscribe, with the sign of the cross, a solemn promise, never more to bear arms, or wear man's apparel; to which, it is said, several other articles unknown to her were added. She was then furnished with the dress of her own sex; but it was taken away in the night by her guards, and a man's dress put in its place; of which she complained bitterly in the morning, and continued in bed as long as nature would permit. When constrained to rise, she covered herself with
some

some part of the man's apparel; on which her keepers, who had an opportunity of observing all her actions, rushed into the room. Her judges were assembled; the keepers swore they had seen her in man's clothes; a sentence of death was pronounced upon her, as a relapsed heretic; and she was delivered to the secular arm, to put that sentence in execution.

A. D. 1431.

This was accordingly done, in the market-place of Rouen, May 30, in the presence of the cardinal of Winchester, several other bishops, all her judges, and an amazing multitude of spectators. On the front of the pile of wood in which she was to be burnt, a tablet was suspended, with this inscription: "Joan, who made herself be called the Maid, a pernicious liar, a deceiver of the people, a forceress, superstitious, presumptuous, cruel, a blasphemer, an infidel, a murderer, an idolater, a worshipper of the devil, an apostate, schismatic, and heretic." When the Maid appeared, still loaded with chains, emaciated, dejected, and bathed in tears, a priest mounted a pulpit, and pronounced a most virulent invective against the unhappy victim about to be sacrificed; concluding with this hypocritical declaration:—"Joan, the church can protect you no longer, and now gives you up to secular justice." The secular magistrates were so much affected, that they could pronounce only the single word, Proceed. She was then placed on the pile, and reduced to ashes, embracing a cross, and calling on the name of Jesus to her last moment. Thus perished, in the midst of flames, and

Her execution.

A.D. 1431. and under a load of calumny, the virtuous, heroic Maid of Orleans, whose only crime seems to have been an ardent, enthusiastic love of her country, which she preserved from a foreign yoke. The best apology that can be made for her prosecutors is—that their resentment was inflamed beyond measure by the losses they had sustained—that they really believed her to be an agent of the devil—and that they hoped, by her disgrace and death, to recover their former ascendant over their enemies; in which they were disappointed⁴⁴.

Military
operations.

The English and Burgundians were obliged to raise the siege of Compeigne, after it had continued six months. Lagny was besieged three times by the English in vain. The other military operations of this year were so trifling, that they merit no attention.

A.D. 1432.
Continued.

Both the contending nations were now so much exhausted by this long, bloody, and expensive war, that they could not bring any considerable armies into the field. They were therefore chiefly employed in taking towns and castles from each other by surprise, and in predatory excursions from their several garrisons. Thus Chartres was surprised by the French, and Montargis by the English, in the spring of this year; and the open country in the several provinces was plundered by both parties, and the people reduced to great distress⁴⁵. The English again besieged Lagny twice in the course of this campaign, but without success⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ Villar, tom. 15. p. 38—76. From the register of the process.

⁴⁵ Montrelet, f. 84—87.

⁴⁶ Hall, f. 40.

Ann of Burgundy, duchess of Bedford, died at A. D. 1432. Paris, November 14, A. D. 1432; and her death dissolved the chief tie which united the dukes of Burgundy and Bedford. The coolness between these two princes was much increased by the sudden marriage of the latter, in January A. D. 1433, to Jaqueline, daughter of the earl of St. Pol, without consulting the former. To prevent an open rupture, the cardinal, bishop of Winchester, prevailed upon them to appoint a meeting at St. Omer's, to settle all their disputes. But when the two dukes came to that place, in May this year, neither of them could be prevailed upon to make the other the first visit. The cardinal laboured earnestly to overcome this difficulty, but to no purpose; and they departed without meeting, in mutual discontent. The duke of Bedford, on this occasion, allowed his pride to overcome his prudence; of which he heartily repented, when it was too late⁵⁷.

Misunderstanding between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy. A. D. 1433.

While the people of England were regaled with the news of frequent victories, and encouraged by the prospect of subduing France, they bore the expences of the war without much repining; but when the tide of success turned, and the prospect of conquest vanished, they became peevish and discontented. The supplies obtained from parliament with great difficulty, were quite inadequate to the exigencies of the war. This inclined the majority of the English council to wish for peace; and conferences were held for that purpose last year, under

The English discontented.

⁵⁷ Monstrelet, f. 89, 90.

the

A. D. 1433. the mediation of the pope, and this year under the mediation of the duke of Orleans, who hoped to obtain deliverance from his long captivity in England, by being the instrument of procuring peace. But the pretensions of the English were too high, and the concessions of the French too low, to admit of an accommodation⁵⁸.

A. D. 1434.
Duke of
Burgundy
inclined
to peace
with
France.

The alliance of the duke of Burgundy with the English against his own family and his native country, into which he had been brought by the violence of his resentment for the murder of his father, was neither very natural nor very prudent. His resentment was now much abated; and he plainly perceived that it was not his interest to see a king of England peaceably seated on the throne of France. He had been often disgusted by his English allies, and was continually solicited by his nearest relations to listen to the plausible excuses and tempting offers made by king Charles. These considerations gradually abated his aversion to Charles and his attachment to the English. At an interview which he had with his two brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon and the constable Richmond, at Nevers, to settle some family-disputes, towards the end of this year, he was brought to a final resolution to be reconciled to Charles. A congress was appointed to be assembled next year, in the city of Arras; to which the duke of Burgundy insisted the English should be invited, as he had solemnly engaged not to make peace without

⁵⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 514. 530. 556, &c.

their

their participation. They were accordingly invited, and accepted of the invitation⁵⁹. A. D. 1434.

King Charles appointed no fewer than twenty-nine commissioners to this congress, consisting of the greatest lords and prelates, and most learned men of his kingdom⁶⁰. The king of England named twenty-seven commissioners, of the highest rank and greatest eminence in church and state⁶¹. The duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of those times, appeared in person, attended by his whole court, and the chief nobility of his dominions. The pope sent the cardinal of the holy cross; and the council of Basil, then sitting, deputed the cardinal of Cyprus to represent them. In a word, there was hardly a prince or state in Europe which did not send ambassadors to this congress, which was the most numerous and splendid assembly that had been seen for several ages⁶². A. D. 1435.
Congress
of Arras.

In the first session of this famous congress, August 20, each of the two cardinals, who acted as mediators, made a speech, describing the calamities of war and the blessings of peace, and earnestly recommending moderation in their demands to the plenipotentiaries of the powers at war, that a peace might be concluded. But after they entered upon business, it soon appeared, that there was no probability that a peace would be made at this time between the kings of England and France. The French plenipotentiaries proposed—to cede to the king of England the provinces of

The English plenipotentiaries leave the congress.

⁵⁹ Monstrelet, f. 102.

⁶⁰ Id. f. 103.

⁶¹ Id. f. 107.

⁶² Id. *ibid*.

Normandy

A.D. 1435.

Normandy and Guienne, to be held by homage of the crown of France, on condition that Henry relinquished all his pretensions to that crown, and gave up all the other places he held in France. The English commissioners were so much offended at this proposal, which they considered as an insult, that they did not deign to return any answer to it, or make any proposals of their own, but broke off the conferences, and left Arras abruptly, September 6⁶³. This was certainly a very imprudent step, as it made them appear in an unfavourable light to the other powers of Europe, and furnished the duke of Burgundy with a plausible pretence for making a separate peace with France.

Peace between
France and
Burgundy.

As soon as the English plenipotentiaries were gone, those of France and Burgundy laboured to adjust the terms of reconciliation between these two powers. This was not a difficult task, as the duke of Burgundy obtained every thing he could desire; and the peace was sealed and sworn with great solemnity, at Arras, September 21⁶⁴.

Consequences of
that peace.

When this peace was proclaimed in the cities of France and of the territories of the duke of Burgundy, the rejoicings were excessive, and continued several days. But when the report of it reached England, it excited the most violent indignation against the duke of Burgundy, who was loaded with the bitterest reproaches for the breach of his alliance. The Londoners in particular were so much enraged, that they plundered, and even murdered, several of his subjects who resided in that

⁶³ Monstrelet, f. 110—112.

⁶⁴ Id. f. 112—119.

city.

city. The heralds he sent to notify the peace in form, and make an apology for his conduct, were treated with great contempt, and sent back without an answer, which greatly irritated that powerful prince, and converted an unsteady friend into a determined enemy⁶⁵.

A.D. 1435.

During the congress at Arras, England sustained an irreparable loss by the death of the duke of Bedford, who expired at Rouen, September 14, deeply affected by the untoward events which had lately happened, and the dread of still greater disasters⁶⁶.

Death of the duke of Bedford.

The council of England, from the beginning of this unhappy reign, was divided into two parties; the one headed by the duke of Gloucester, and the other by the cardinal of Winchester. The animosity of these parties, which was very violent, disturbed the peace of the country, and obstructed the vigorous prosecution of the war. Richard duke of York was appointed regent of France, by the influence of the duke of Gloucester and his party; but the other party, who favoured Edmund Beaufort, afterwards duke of Somerset, the cardinal's nephew, threw so many impediments in the way, that six months elapsed before the duke of York obtained his commission. In this interval, the city of Paris, and almost all the other places of strength in the isle of France, were lost, being either purchased, surprised, or forcibly taken, by the enemy⁶⁷.

A.D. 1436. Divisions in the council of England, and the consequences.

⁶⁵ Montfret, f. 120, 121.⁶⁶ Hall, f. 47.⁶⁷ Id. f. 46, 47, 48. Montfret, f. 127.

The

A.D. 1436.

Commissions to the dukes of Burgundy and York.

The council of England, especially that part of it under the influence of the cardinal, discouraged by so many losses, and dreading still more, became sincerely desirous of peace, and gave a commission to the duke of York, May 20, to treat of a truce or peace; and at the same time gave a commission to the cardinal of Winchester, and the duke of Burgundy, whose enmity they had drawn upon themselves by so many insults, to treat of a marriage between king Henry and a daughter of king Charles, to whom they gave only the name of Charles de Valois⁶⁸. These absurd and sneaking commissions, so inconsistent with their haughty behaviour at the congress of Arras, and their contemptuous treatment of the duke of Burgundy, are a sufficient indication of the weakness and instability of the councils of England at this period, and must diminish our surprise at the losses and disgraces which ensued.

Calais besieged; the siege raised.

The duke of Burgundy was so far from acting as a commissioner of the king of England, that he was at this very time raising a great army, with which he invested Calais, July 19. The duke of Gloucester, and his party in the council, who were always for a vigorous prosecution of the war, hearing of these great preparations, and alarmed at the danger of this important place, in a few weeks collected a fleet of 500 sail, and raised an army of 15,000 men, with which he landed at Calais, August 2. The duke of Burgundy, now despairing

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 642—644.

of taking the town, and afraid to venture a battle, raised the siege with great precipitation, leaving his heavy cannon, and the greatest part of his baggage, behind him. The duke of Gloucester pursued him, burning and destroying the country, and collecting a great deal of booty, with which he returned to Calais, and from thence to England⁶⁹.

A.D. 1436.

The duke of York having landed in Normandy in June, with a reinforcement of 8000 men, the war was pushed with some degree of vigour, and several places recovered, which had been taken by the enemy. The brave lord Talbot defeated a considerable body of French troops, commanded by Xantrails and La Hire, who had approached Rouen, in hopes of being admitted into it, by certain citizens, with whom they held a correspondence. Towards the end of the year, he took the strong town of Pontoise by a stratagem; which enabled the English to push their predatory incursions to the very gates of Paris⁷⁰.

Military operations.

Queen Katharine, widow of Henry V. died January 7, this year. Soon after the death of her renowned husband, she married Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, by whom she had three sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen. Edmund, the eldest, was created earl of Richmond, by Henry VI. A. D. 1452, and married the lady Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort duke of Somerset; by whom he had one son, Henry earl of Richmond, after-

A. D. 1437.

Death of queen Katharine, &c.

⁶⁹ Stow, p. 376. Fabian, v. 2. p. 139. Monstrelet, f. 132—139.

⁷⁰ Monstrelet, f. 140. 142.

A.D. 1437. wards king of England". The suddenness of queen Katharine's second marriage, and the very inferior rank of her husband, gave great offence to her royal relations, and brought her into general contempt; but the respect which the English ministers bore to the memory of their late king, prevented them from giving Mr. Tudor any trouble during the queen's life. Immediately after her death, he was committed to Newgate; from which he made his escape; but being retaken about a year after, he was committed to the tower⁷¹.

Military operations.

The duke of Burgundy was so much harassed by the frequent insurrections of his Flemish subjects, that he could give but little aid to his new allies. Dreading the resentment of the English, which was much inflamed by his late attempt upon Calais, he earnestly intreated the king of France to collect his forces, and make the most vigorous efforts against their common enemies, promising to favour his operations by a diversion on the side of Normandy. Roused from his habitual indolence by these intreaties, Charles appointed a rendezvous of his troops at Gien, in the spring of this year; and, putting himself at their head, besieged and took Landen, Nemours, and Monstreau-Faute-Yone. At the siege of this last place, he gained great honour by his activity and personal courage⁷².

Continued.

The duke of Burgundy was not so successful in this campaign. About the beginning of October,

⁷¹ Dugdale's Baron. vol. 2. p. 237, &c. Sandford's General. p. 285.

⁷² Stow, p. 376. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 685, 686.

⁷³ Monstrelet, f. 145.

his

his generals invested Crotoy, near Abbeville, a place of great importance on account of its strength and situation; while the duke, at the head of an army, lay near, to prevent its being relieved. The brave lord Talbot, having collected a small army of about 5000 men, marched towards Crotoy. When he reached the Somme, he found the duke of Burgundy, with his army, on the opposite bank, ready to dispute his passage. Fired with indignation against that prince, Talbot and his troops plunged into the river without hesitation; which so intimidated the Burgundians, that they retired without striking a stroke, and immediately after raised the siege. Having victualled and repaired the place, Talbot made an incursion into Picardy and Artois, burning and plundering the country; and then returned into Normandy, loaded with spoils and glory⁷⁴.

A.D. 1437.

By the factious intrigues which still prevailed in the council of England, the duke of York was deprived of the regency of France, and Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, appointed regent in his place, July 16⁷⁵. That nobleman, having been put back several times by contrary winds, landed in Normandy in November, with a reinforcement of 1000 men; and the duke returned to England, much discontented⁷⁶.

Earl of Warwick regent of France.

France was at this time a scene of the most deplorable distress and misery. A destructive pestilence and cruel famine swept away a great propor-

A.D. 1438.
Plague and famine.

⁷⁴ Monstrelet, f. 149, 150. Hall, f. 54.

⁷⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 674.

⁷⁶ Hall, f. 54. Stow, p. 377.

A. D. 1438.

tion of its inhabitants; while several of its provinces were infested by great bands, or rather armies of robbers, consisting of soldiers of fortune, who, having no pay, committed the most horrible ravages. England was not without its share of misery, being afflicted, at least in an equal degree, with the plague and famine". These calamities produced an almost total cessation of hostilities. Richard the good earl of Warwick, regent of France, died at Rouen, April 30th.

A. D. 1439.
Negotiations.

The pope still continued his exhortations to peace; which were seconded by those of the duke of Brittany,—of the dukes of Burgundy,—and of the duke of Orleans, who again offered his mediation, in hopes of obtaining deliverance from his long captivity. In consequence of these solicitations, conferences were held this summer, at a place equally distant from Calais and Gravelines, between the plenipotentiaries of England and France. The ambassadors of the pope and the duke of Brittany assisted at these conferences; the dukes of Burgundy and the duke of Orleans were personally present, and laboured with great earnestness to bring about an accommodation, which was to have been cemented by the marriage of the king of England with a daughter of the king of France. But all in vain: the English insisting on the possession of Normandy and Guienne without homage, and the French insisting on their holding them by homage, the conferences broke up without effect⁷⁷. The

77 Monstrelet, f. 154. Fabian, an. 1438. Stow, p. 377.

78 Id. ibid.

79 Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 720—733.

duchess of Burgundy, at this congress, negotiated a truce for three years, and a treaty of commerce, between the English and the subjects and dominions of her husband⁸⁰. This excellent princess, who was so active in promoting peace, was daughter of John king of Portugal, and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and consequently a near relation of the king of England.

A.D. 1438.

The conferences for peace did not interrupt the operations of war. The earl of Richmond, constable of France, invested Meaux in the beginning of July, and obliged the town to surrender, after a siege of three weeks. But the garrison retired into the market-place, which was much stronger than the town, and stood another siege. Lord Talbot marched to the relief of Meaux, and found means to throw some troops and provisions into it; but the French camp was so strong, that he could neither force it, nor provoke the constable to battle. The garrison, despairing of relief, capitulated about three weeks after the retreat of lord Talbot. The constable was not so successful in his next enterprise, the siege of Avranches, which he was compelled to raise, with the loss of his cannon and baggage⁸¹.

Military operations.

In the beginning of this year, a new storm arose in France, which threatened that unhappy kingdom with greater calamities than it had yet endured. Lewis the dauphin, seduced by his own ambitious spirit, and the persuasions of certain

A.D. 1440.
Conspiracy in France.

⁸⁰ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 736. Monstrelet, f. 169.

⁸¹ Monstrelet, f. 166.

A.D. 1440.

emissaries, made his escape from the castle of Loches, where he resided with his governor the earl of March, and was conducted to Moulins, where he found the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Alençon, the earl of Vendôme, the lords Trimouille, Chaumont, and several other discontented noblemen, with whom he formed a plot for dethroning his father. The conspirators sent gentlemen of their party into the several provinces, to communicate their scheme to such as they hoped would join them; but received very unfavourable answers. They imparted their plot also to the duke of Burgundy, imagining that he still retained some resentment against Charles for the assassination of his father. But that prince advised them to desist from their design, and make their submission to the king, promising to use all his influence to procure their pardon. Hearing that their justly offended sovereign was advancing towards them, at the head of a powerful army, they took this advice. The king refused to admit any of the conspirators into his presence, except the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon; who being introduced July 19, made the most humble submissions, and obtained a pardon⁸².

Military
opera-
tions,

The English, taking advantage of this commotion, which was much sooner composed than they expected, plundered Picardy with one army, and with another, commanded by the earl of Somerset and lord Talbot, invested Harfleur, which had

⁸² Monstrelet, f. 171, 172.

been

been taken by the French, A. D. 1432. The English generals, to prevent their being disturbed, or any relief thrown into the place, fortified their camp with a ditch and rampart, and guarded the harbour with a fleet. The garrison and inhabitants made a brave and long defence, in hopes of being relieved; and as soon as the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon made their submissions, Charles sent an army to their relief; which assaulted the English camp in three places at once; but were repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to abandon their enterprize. The garrison soon after capitulated; and Harfleur, the first conquest of Henry V. fell once more into the hands of the English²³. The duke of York was again appointed regent of France, July 2⁴.

A. D. 1440.

Two attempts were made this year to put an end to this long and destructive war, which had continued twenty-five years, and (if we may believe the cardinal of Winchester) had carried off more men than were at this time both in France and England. But in vain; the article of homage proving an obstacle which neither of the two nations had the magnanimity to surmount, for the sake of a peace, of which they stood so much in need²⁵.

Conferences for peace.

The negotiations for the deliverance of the duke of Orleans from his tedious captivity were more successful. Negotiations for that purpose had been carried on several years, favoured by the cardinal of Winchester and his party, and keenly opposed

Duke of Orleans set at liberty.

²³ Monstrelet, f. 173. 183.

²⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 786.

²⁵ Id. ibid. p. 724. 756. 767. 800. 810.

A.D. 1440.

by the duke of Gloucester and his adherents. The cardinal having now gained the ascendant in the English council, the terms of a treaty for the duke's deliverance were settled, and prepared for ratification. When the duke of Gloucester perceived that he could not prevent the execution of this treaty, he gave in a protestation against it, June 2, containing several reasons of his dissent; which were disregarded⁸⁶. By this treaty, which was signed July 2, the duke was to pay a ransom of 100,000 nobles, equal in value to 200,000 crowns, at different terms. He engaged also to use his most earnest endeavours to bring about a general peace; in which, if he succeeded within twelve months, all the money he had paid for his ransom was to be returned, and the rest remitted⁸⁷. Several months elapsed before all the securities for the ransom, and some other matters, were finally settled. At length the duke was conducted to Calais, and from thence to Gravelins, where he was set at liberty, November 12, after a melancholy captivity of twenty-five years, in an enemy's country, at a great distance from his family, his friends, and his princely fortune, which was almost ruined by the war⁸⁸.

A.D. 1441.

Military operations.

The great popularity of the duke of Orleans, on his arrival in his native country, after so long an absence, gave umbrage to the court of France, and put it out of his power to bring about a peace. The war continued, and was even carried on with more vigour than in some preceding years. King

⁸⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 765.⁸⁷ Id. ibid. p. 776—786.⁸⁸ Id. ibid. p. 829.

Charles,

A.D. 1441.

Charles, roused from his habitual indolence, put himself, with his son the dauphin, at the head of his troops, and having taken Creil in the month of April, about the middle of May he invested Pontoise with an army of 12,000 men. This was a place of great importance, on account of its strength and situation, which made him push the siege with the greatest ardour. But he met with an obstinate resistance; and the renowned lord Talbot found means to throw succours into the place three different times; which enabled the garrison to hold out several months. The duke of York, regent of France, having collected an army of about 8000 men, marched, August 15, from Rouen towards Pontoise. When he approached that place, he challenged the king of France to a pitched battle; which that prince declined; and believing it impossible for the English army to pass the river Oyse without boats, he continued the siege. But the duke of York passed the river by a stratagem, and marched towards the French camp; which so much astonished Charles, that he retired with great precipitation. The duke, finding it impossible to bring the French to a general action, victualled and recruited the garrison of Pontoise, and then returned with his army into Normandy. When Charles entered Paris, he met with a very cold reception, and plainly perceived, that his late retreat had greatly diminished both the esteem and affection of his subjects; which determined him immediately to return to Pontoise, and renew the siege. The king appearing foremost in every danger,

A. D. 1447.

danger, so animated his troops, that the town was taken by storm, 500 of the garrison put to the sword, and about the same number taken prisoners. By this conquest Charles recovered his reputation; the French were greatly elated, and the English no less discouraged²⁹.

Trial of
the duchess
of Glou-
cester.

The court of England was at this time a scene of the most violent faction. The cardinal of Winchester, who had spies in the family of his rival the duke of Gloucester, being informed by one of them, that the duchess had private meetings with one sir Robert Bolingbroke, a priest, who was reputed a necromancer, and Marjory Gourdimain, commonly called the *Witch of Eye*, commanded them all to be apprehended, and accused of treason; pretending that they had made an image of the king in wax, and placed it before a fire, that as the image melted, the king's strength and flesh might decay, till it was quite destroyed. Such an accusation would only have excited laughter in a more enlightened age, but was then treated as a most serious affair. The duchess was examined by the two archbishops, and several other prelates; and solemnly tried by the earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, Northumberland, &c.; and though no evidence was produced at her trial, of the image of wax, or of any thing that had the least relation to treason, she was sentenced to do public penance in St. Paul's, and two other churches, on three several days, and to be imprisoned for life. A cruel and unjust sentence, which was dictated by

²⁹ Monstrelet, f. 183—185.

party-

party-rage, and executed with the greatest rigour⁹⁰. Bolingbroke, who was a mathematician, and on that account reputed a magician, was condemned to death, and executed at Tyburn. Marjory Gourdimain was burnt in Smithfield⁹¹.

A.D. 1441.

The English army in Guienne had besieged Tartas (a strong town belonging to count d'Albert) several months; and the garrison capitulated in January this year, agreeing to surrender the town, if it was not relieved on or before June 24. Charles, determined to preserve a place of so great importance, the neglect of which would have disgusted count d'Albert, and the nobles of those parts, appointed his troops to assemble at Thou-louse in May; and marching from thence at the head of a gallant army, composed of the nobility of the southern provinces, and their followers, arrived before Tartas at the time appointed; and no English army appearing, the hostages which had been given for the surrender of that place were restored⁹². Charles having so fine an army, besieged and took several towns, as St. Severe, Acques, Mermande, and Reole⁹³.

A.D. 1443.
Tartas re-
lieved.

While king Charles remained in those parts, he obtained another great advantage. Margaret countess of Cominges had been confined in prison twenty-two years, by the earl of Armagnac and her own husband, Matthew earl of Fezensaquet, who divided the county between them. The countess, in her confinement, made a will in favour

Charles
obtains the
county of
Cominges.⁹⁰ Stow, Annal. p. 382.⁹¹ Id. ibid.⁹² Monstrelet, f. 196.⁹³ Id. f. 197.

of

A. D. 1442.

of the king of France, of which that prince having received intelligence, he delivered Margaret from prison, and took possession of that part of the county which was held by the earl of Armagnac. That haughty and potent earl was so much enraged at this, and some other affronts he had received from Charles, that he determined to revolt; and sent messengers to the court of England, to propose an alliance, and to offer one of his daughters to the young king in marriage. This proposal was eagerly embraced by the duke of Gloucester; and sir Robert Roos, secretary Bickington, and Edward Hull, were sent to conclude the alliance and marriage⁹⁴. But all the counsels of the court of England at this time were betrayed by faction. The cardinal of Winchester and his party dreaded nothing so much as a queen in the interest of the duke of Gloucester; and, to prevent it, probably conveyed some hints of this intrigue to Charles, who fell upon the earl, reduced his whole country, and took him and all his family, except his eldest son, prisoners⁹⁵.

Military
operations.

The English, unable to make head against king Charles in the south, endeavoured to create a diversion in the north of France. The duke of York sent lord Willobey, with a body of troops, to plunder the country about Amiens; while he, at the head of an army, made an incursion into Anjou and Main, burning and destroying the small towns and villages. Towards the end of the year, both these armies returned to Rouen, loaded with

⁹⁴ Ryin. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 6-8.

⁹⁵ Hall, f. 64.

booty,

booty, but without having made any important conquest. The lord Talbot, who had been created earl of Shrewsbury, March 20, this year, landed in Normandy, with a reinforcement of 3000 men; with which, and some other troops, he besieged Dieppe, in November. But he soon found that his army was too small to take the place by force: he therefore converted the siege into a blockade; the care of which he left to his natural son, a young man of great hopes, and went to Rouen. Soon after his departure, the dauphin, at the head of a considerable army, attacked the English troops before Dieppe, and obliged them to retire⁹⁶.

A. D. 1445.

The political campaign between the two parties in the English council was as warm this year, as the military one between the two nations in the field. The duke of Gloucester gave in to the king and council an accusation of high-treason against his great adversary, the cardinal of Winchester, consisting of fourteen articles. The most capital of these articles were, that the cardinal, in conjunction with his great confidant John Kemp, archbishop of York, had taken possession of the king's person, and of all his power; and that he had cheated the king and nation of immense sums of money. Both these articles, as well as several others, were unquestionably true, and could easily have been proven. The council, which consisted chiefly of the cardinal's creatures, declined giving any advice or opinion; and the cardinal extricated himself in his usual way, by procuring a full pardon,

Disputes in the council of England.

A. D. 1445.

⁹⁶ Stow, p. 382. Hall, f. 59.

from

A.D. 1443. from the king, of all the treasons and crimes he had ever committed⁹⁷.

A.D. 1444. The two powerful and flourishing kingdoms of France and England had suffered so much from this long and most destructive war, that they became the objects of universal pity; and almost all the princes and states of Europe laboured to procure a peace between them. The duke of Orleans, who now possessed that place in the confidence of his sovereign to which he was intitled, promoted the same end with the greatest zeal. Isabel duchess of Burgundy, in the name of the duke her husband, concluded a truce, for an indeterminate time, with Richard duke of York, regent of France, April 23, A. D. 1443⁹⁸. Plenipotentiaries from the kings of England and France met at Tours, to settle the terms of a perpetual peace, or long truce. William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was at the head of the English negotiators, and the duke of Orleans at the head of those of France. It soon appeared, that a final peace could not yet be obtained; and therefore the plenipotentiaries concluded a truce, May 28, A. D. 1444, between the two kings and their allies on both sides, from that time to April 1, A. D. 1446, during which period the conferences for a peace were to be continued⁹⁹. By several subsequent treaties, this truce was prolonged to April 1, A. D. 1450¹⁰⁰.

King Henry contracted.

The earl of Suffolk, presuming upon the protection of his great friend the cardinal of Win-

⁹⁷ Hall, f. 61—64. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 20.

⁹⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 24—26.

⁹⁹ Id. ibid. p. 58—67.

¹⁰⁰ Id. ibid. p. 97. 164. 199. 214.

chester, engaged in another negotiation, for which he doth not seem to have had any proper authority, and in which he was unfortunately too successful. This was a treaty of marriage between his master king Henry and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Reni, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou, who, with all these pompous titles, was the poorest prince in Europe. From his three kingdoms he derived not one farthing of revenue; and almost all his hereditary estates were in the hands of the English, or mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy (to whom he had been a prisoner) for his ransom. With this princess, therefore, no fortune could be expected. But that was not the worst; for the king of France, her uncle, demanded and obtained a solemn engagement, that the king of England, in consideration of this marriage, should surrender all the places he held in Anjou and Main to the duke of Anjou, and his brother Charles, earl of Main, who was king Charles's favourite and prime minister. As soon as the earl of Suffolk had concluded this fatal contract, he hastened into England to procure its ratification¹⁰².

A. D. 1444.

The contract approved in council.

When this contract (which had been contrived by the cardinal of Winchester and the earl of Suffolk, in order to have a queen in their interest, and indebted to them for her elevation) was laid before the English council, the earl, in a long speech, magnified the high birth, the great beauty, and admirable accomplishments of the princess, which,

¹⁰² Hall, f. 65. Stow, p. 383, 384.

he.

A.D. 1444. he said, were more valuable than all the gold and silver in the world; and represented further, that by her near relation to the king, queen, and prime minister of France, she would procure a speedy and honourable peace. The young king was as much pleased, as one of his monkish character could be, with the description given by the earl of the charms and endowments of his intended bride. The cardinal and his party in the council applauded this transaction in the strongest terms. In a word, it met with no opposition but from the duke of Gloucester, who plainly discerned its tendency, and the design of its promoters. That prince affirmed, that the king was already solemnly contracted to a daughter of the earl of Armagnac, who, being now restored to his estates, was ready to perform the conditions of the contract: that by adhering to this engagement, which could not be violated without dishonour, the king would obtain an amiable consort, an ample fortune, and a powerful ally. But these objections were disregarded; and this opposition answered no other end but to inflame the resentment of Margaret against the duke, and increase her attachment to his enemies ¹⁰².

A.D. 1445.
Henry's
marriage.

Still further to strengthen their party, the cardinal and Suffolk persuaded the king, who was wholly under their direction, to confer additional honours on some of the most powerful of the nobility. John Holland earl of Huntington, was made duke of Exeter; Humphrey earl of Stafford,

for Hall, f. 65.

duke

duke of Buckingham; Henry de Beauchamp earl of Warwick, duke of Warwick, and king of the Isle of Wight¹⁰³; the earl of Suffolk was created marquis of Suffolk, and sent, with a splendid train of lords and ladies, to conduct the future queen into England, where, in an evil hour, she landed, April A. D. 1445, and was married to the king at Southwich, in Hampshire, on the 22d of that month, and crowned with great pomp, at Westminster, May 30¹⁰⁴.

A. D. 1445.

The cardinal and Suffolk soon found, that the queen they had chosen was admirably fitted for promoting the selfish ambitious ends which they had in view. By her beauty and address, she gained an entire ascendant over her weak and ductile husband. He resigned the reins of government into her hands; which she, being naturally bold, active, and ambitious, grasped with eagerness. Knowing to whom she was indebted for her elevation, she entered keenly into all their projects, and adopted all their passions, particularly their hatred of the duke of Gloucester. That prince attempted to efface the unfavourable impressions his opposition to her marriage had made upon her mind, by meeting her on her road to London with 500 of his followers in one livery. But in vain: his destruction was determined by Margaret and her confidants¹⁰⁵.

Character of the queen.

The queen and her friends being now in the zenith of their power and popularity, they procured

A. D. 1445, Suffolk's conduct

¹⁰³ Rym. Feod. t. 11. p. 49. Dugdale's Baron. vol. 1. p. 243. 165.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, f. 66. Stow, p. 384. Fabian, f. 193.

¹⁰⁵ Id. ibid.

A. D. 1446.

approved
by par-
liament.

from parliament a large supply, and the repeal of an act made in the reign of Henry V.—“ That no “ peace should be made with the dauphin of “ France, without the assent of the three estates in “ parliament¹⁰⁶.” Encouraged by this success, the marquis of Suffolk made a long and pompous harangue in the house of peers, June 22, A. D. 1446, extolling his own wisdom, zeal, and success, in negotiating the truce with France, and the king’s marriage, and requesting their approbation of his conduct in these weighty affairs; which was granted. On the day after he made a similar harangue and request in the house of commons; and, on the 24th, William Burghly, their speaker, attended by many of the members, went up to the house of peers, where the king was seated on his throne, and, in the name of the commons of England, desired the concurrence of the lords in petitioning the king to reward the marquis of Suffolk for his meritorious services. This was granted; and all the members of both houses, on their knees, presented the petition to the king, which was graciously received, and favourably answered¹⁰⁷. How different, in a few years after, were the sentiments of parliament on these subjects.

A. D. 1447.

Death of
the duke
of Glou-
cester.

The queen, the cardinal, and Suffolk, thinking they might now attempt and execute any thing with impunity, determined to rid themselves of their most formidable adversary, the duke of Gloucester. The last parliament had been so obsequious, that

¹⁰⁶ Parliament. Hist. vol. 11, p. 241.

¹⁰⁷ Hall, l. 67. Stow, p. 385. Daniel in Kennet, p. 394, &c.

they

A. D. 1447.

they seem to have imagined they could procure his legal condemnation. With this view a parliament was summoned to meet at St. Edmundsbury, February 10, A. D. 1447. The duke, dreading no danger, came from his castle of the Devizes, with a small retinue, to the place appointed. At the opening of the parliament every thing was transacted in the usual form, and nothing appeared to excite suspicion. But on the next day the lord Beaumont, constable of England, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and several other peers of Suffolk's party, arrested and imprisoned the duke of Gloucester, seizing at the same time all his attendants, and committing them to different prisons. The courtiers gave out, that the duke had formed a conspiracy to kill the king, and place himself on the throne; to deliver his duchess from prison, and make her queen of England; and that he was to be immediately brought to trial for high treason. But finding that this improbable tale, of which they could produce no evidence, met with no credit, they changed their plan, and resolved to dispatch him privately, rather than bring him to a public trial. Accordingly, some time after his commitment, he was one morning found dead in his bed, though he had been in perfect health on the preceding evening. His dead body, which had no marks of violence upon it, was exposed to the view of the parliament and of the people, to persuade them that he had died a natural death. But in this they had but little success; for though the several reports that were circulated concerning the manner

A.D. 1447. of his death were probably no better than mere conjectures, it was universally believed that he had fallen a victim to the malice and cruelty of his three capital enemies, who on that account became the objects of public hatred¹⁰⁸. One of the most inveterate of these enemies, the rich, cunning, and ambitious cardinal of Winchester, did not long survive him, dying, April 11, in great horror, and bitterly reproaching his riches, because they could not prolong his life¹⁰⁹.

The queen
and Suffolk
odious.

After the death of the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, the marquis of Suffolk became the sole minister of state, and great favourite of the queen. To silence the clamours of the people against Suffolk, for the surrender of Anjou and Main, in consequence of the queen's contract of marriage, which he had negotiated, the king issued a proclamation, June 18, declaring his entire approbation of his conduct in that transaction¹¹⁰: a shallow device, which could have little or no effect. The queen and her favourite were still more severely censured by the public, for the murder of the duke of Gloucester; and the method they took to free themselves from those censures, had a tendency to confirm them. Several of the duke's friends and followers were tried before the marquis of Suffolk, and some other commissioners of his party, and found guilty (upon little or no evidence) of the highest species of high treason, a conspiracy to kill the king, and place the duke of

¹⁰⁸ Hall, f. 69. Stow, p. 386. Continuatio Hist. Croyl. p. 521.

¹⁰⁹ Hall, f. 70.

¹¹⁰ Rym. Feod. tom. 11. p. 172.

Glou-

Gloucester on the throne. But Suffolk, finding that he had gone too far, and that the execution of so many gentlemen, who were universally believed to be innocent, would greatly inflame the public hatred against him, procured them a pardon; for which he could invent no better reason than this, "That the king, from his cradle, had a singular veneration for the glorious and immaculate Virgin Mary, the mother of God;" and because the feast of her Assumption was near at hand, he pardoned those gentlemen, who, with many others, had conspired to deprive him of his crown and life¹¹¹. This ridiculous reason convinced all the world of their innocence, and of the guilt of those who had first condemned them, and afterwards procured their pardon. The indecent haste and rapacity with which the queen and Suffolk seized on the great estates of the duke of Gloucester, or bestowed them on their creatures, rendered them justly and completely odious¹¹².

A.D. 1447

Though Richard duke of York, on his return from France, after the conclusion of the late truce, had his conduct as regent of France approved by the king and council, and received a new commission of regency for five years longer; the queen and Suffolk, suspecting that he would obstruct the surrender of Anjou and Main, deprived him of that high office, and bestowed it on Edmund duke of Somerset¹¹³: an injury of which they soon had reason to repent. For the duke of York, irritated

The duke of York aspires to the crown.

¹¹¹ Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 178.

¹¹² Id. ibid. p. 155, 158.

¹¹³ Hall, f. 67.

A. D. 1447. at this affront, and encouraged by the weakness of the king, and the misconduct of the queen and Suffolk, began to cast his eyes upon the crown, employing emissaries in all parts of the kingdom to explain his right, extol his merits, and represent the necessity of a revolution in his favour. This had a great effect, and soon produced those bloody wars, between the houses of York and Lancaster, which brought England to the brink of ruin.

A. D. 1448. The king of France did not forget to demand the surrender of the provinces of Anjou and Main, as stipulated in the marriage-contract of the queen of England; and that demand was one cause of those calamities that were crowded into the subsequent years of this unhappy reign. For though the queen and her favourite Suffolk were sufficiently disposed to surrender those provinces, the people of England loudly exclaimed against it; and the English troops, which had them in their possession, were very unwilling to give them up; and some of them obstinately refused to do it, till they were compelled by force ¹¹⁴.

Breach of the truce. When these troops (particularly the garrison of Mans, which had been most refractory) arrived in Normandy, they met with a very cold reception, and could obtain no establishment; which induced about 2500 of them, commanded by sir Francis Surienne, a soldier of fortune, late governor of Mans, to seize the rich trading town of Fougiers in Brittany, and to procure subsistence by plunder-

¹¹⁴ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 5.

ing

ing the surrounding country. The duke of Brittany, justly enraged at this infraction of the truce, in which he was included as an ally and vassal of the king of France, demanded reparation of the injury from the duke of Somerset, who returned a soft answer, promising reparation. But as this was not immediately performed, the duke of Brittany carried his complaints to the king of France; who demanded immediate satisfaction, in a most peremptory tone; and that this might not be easily given, he estimated the damages sustained by the duke of Brittany at 1,600,000 crowns. The duke of Somerset, wishing to avoid a rupture, for which he was not prepared, proposed a conference, in order to an agreement. A conference was accordingly held at Louviers; but broke up without any accommodation¹¹⁵.

A.D. 1448.

King Charles, having spent several years in making preparations for war, was now in perfect readiness, and invaded Normandy, in July and August, with four different armies. It would be equally tedious and perplexing to trace these several armies in their progress. It is sufficient to say, that it was very rapid, and that they met with very little resistance. The fortifications of the towns and castles were in bad repair; they were not properly stored with provisions, arms, and ammunition; the garrisons were ill paid, and worse disciplined; and the inhabitants were violently disaffected to the English government. Some go-

A.D. 1449.
Loss of
Nor-
mandy.¹¹⁵ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 7. Hall, f. 70.

A. D. 1449.

vernors were absent; others were foreigners, and soldiers of fortune, and either changed sides, or sold the places which they commanded to the enemy. In a word, the far greatest part both of Upper and Lower Normandy changed masters in less than four months; the duke of Somerset remaining all that time at Rouen, in a kind of political stupor, without increasing the garrison, repairing the works, laying in provisions, or doing any thing to enable him to resist the approaching storm. Charles, encouraged by his own surprising success, and the strange infatuation of his enemies, invested that capital, in the beginning of October, with an army of 50,000 men. The English garrison consisted of about 2000; a force quite inadequate to the defence of so great a city, especially as the citizens were as hostile as the besiegers. For after they had failed in an attempt to betray the place to the enemy, they took up arms, drove the duke of Somerset, with a great part of the garrison, into the palace, and compelled him to consent to a most dishonourable capitulation; by which he not only surrendered Rouen, but also Arques, Caudbec, Tankerville, l'Isle-Bonne, Honfleur, and Monfieur-Villiers, on condition that he and the English garrison should be allowed to go where they pleased; leaving the brave Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, and several young noblemen, hostages, till all the towns were given up. All these towns were accordingly evacuated, except Honfleur, which was besieged and taken, February 18, A. D. 1450¹¹⁶. The

¹¹⁶ Monstrelet, f. 2—26. Hall, f. 72.

French,

French, very wisely resolving to prosecute their good fortune, and to give the English no time to recover from their consternation, carried on the war through the winter, the next spring, and summer, without intermission, till they had driven their enemies entirely out of Normandy. Cherburg, the last town they held in that country, surrendered, August 12, A. D. 1450¹¹⁷. Thus, in one campaign, and almost without a struggle, the English lost the large, fertile, and populous province of Normandy, containing above 100 fortified towns, and that only a few years after they had a probable prospect of subduing the whole kingdom of France. So precarious is the prosperity of nations, as well as of particular persons, and so much doth it depend (under Providence) on the wisdom, virtue, and valour, of those who have the administration of their affairs.

A.D. 1449

The loss of Normandy, and of several places in Guienne; an insurrection in Ireland, to quell which the duke of York had been sent; together with the oppressions committed in the internal government of the kingdom, had greatly increased the discontent, and inflamed the rage of the people of England against the queen and her favourite (who had lately been created duke of Suffolk), to whom all these losses and oppressions were imputed¹¹⁸. These discontents soon broke out into acts of violence and rebellion. In the beginning of this year, January 9, Adam Molyns, bishop of Chichester, and keeper

A.D. 1450.
Insurrections.¹¹⁷ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 26, &c.¹¹⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 268.

A. D. 1450.

of the privy seal, a creature of the duke of Suffolk, was murdered by the populace at Portsmouth¹¹⁹. William Ascough, bishop of Salisbury, another of the duke's agents, soon after shared the same fate¹²⁰. One Thomas Thany, a fuller, nicknamed Blue-beard, excited an insurrection in Kent, which was soon suppressed, and Thany, with some others, were executed at Canterbury, 9th February¹²¹.

Trial of
the duke
of Suffolk.

A parliament had been summoned last year, but had been several times prorogued, without doing any business. It met at Westminster, January 22, this year; and on the 28th of that month, the speaker and members of the house of commons, appeared in the house of lords, and accused the duke of Suffolk of high treason, and, in particular, that he had sold this kingdom to the French; on which the duke was committed to the tower. On February 7, the chancellor and the speaker gave to the king in parliament a formal accusation of the duke, consisting of nine articles; and on the 9th of March, the commons, by their speaker, exhibited a further accusation of high crimes and misdemeanours, containing sixteen articles. On the 17th of that month, the duke being brought into the house of lords, the king seated on the throne, the chancellor asked him, how he would be tried; to which, professing his innocence, he replied, that he referred himself entirely to the king's award. Upon this, the chancellor, by the king's command, without consulting the peers, pronounced

¹¹⁹ Stow, p. 387.¹²⁰ Continuatio Hist. Croyland. p. 525.¹²¹ Stow, p. 387.

upon

upon him a sentence of banishment from all the king's dominions, for five years¹²². This irregular mode of proceeding was adopted, to preserve the duke from being found guilty of high treason by his peers; which would have been the consequence of a regular trial.

A. D. 1450.

Suffolk, being fully convinced that he could not be safe in England, where he was universally hated, made haste to go into banishment, and embarked at Ipswich, May 3. But his enemies, who had watched all his motions, determined that he should not escape. He was overtaken at sea by a ship belonging to the duke of Exeter, called the *Nicolas of the Tower*, whose captain boarded the duke's ship, seized his person, brought him back to Dover, struck off his head on the side of a cock-boat, and left his mangled remains upon the beach¹²³. In this ignominious manner perished William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who was certainly one of the most daring, corrupt, and pernicious ministers that ever managed the affairs of England.

Death of Suffolk.

The queen, equally enraged and grieved at the death of her favourite, breathed nothing but revenge, especially against the people of Kent; which excited a second insurrection in that county, far more formidable than the first. It was headed by an artful bold adventurer, whose real name was John Cade; but he assumed the name of John Mortimer, to entice the friends of that family,

J. Cade's insurrection.

¹²² Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 255—259. Hall, f. 75, 76.

¹²³ Continuatio Hist. Croyland. p. 525. Hall, f. 76. Stow, p. 388.

and

A. D. 1450.

and those who favoured the title of the duke of York, to join him. Some historians affirm, that he was set to work by that prince, who was then in Ireland, in order to discover the sentiments of the people of England concerning his title to the crown¹²⁴. But of this there is not sufficient evidence. Cade, having collected a considerable number of the common people, by specious promises of reforming all abuses, which procured him the name of *John Amend-all*, marched towards London, and encamped on Blackheath, June 1. From thence the insurgents sent two addresses to the king and council, the one intitled,—*The complaints of the commons of Kent, and causes of the assembly on the Blackheath*; the other,—*The requests of the captain of the great assembly in Kent*. These addresses were artfully drawn, professing the greatest attachment to the person and government of the king; requesting the redress of certain great and real grievances, the punishment of certain evil counsellors, who had oppressed the people at home and lost the king's dominions abroad; and that the king would govern, by the advice of the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and the well-affected barons of the kingdom¹²⁵. As several of the persons marked out for destruction were members of the council, these addresses were rejected, and a resolution formed to subdue the insurgents by force. An army of about 15,000 men was raised, and marched against the insurgents, who retired to

¹²⁴ Hall, f. 77.¹²⁵ Stow, p. 390, 391.

the woody country about Sevenoaks; on which sir Humphrey Stafford was sent with a body of troops in pursuit of the fugitives. He overtook and engaged them near Sevenoaks; but he and his brother were both killed, and his troops defeated¹²⁶.

A. D. 1450.

Cade and his followers, greatly elated by this victory, returned to their former station on Blackheath, June 29. This affair was now become very serious and alarming. Not only the common people in general, but many persons of rank and fortune, favoured the revolt; and even the vassals of the court lords discovered an unwillingness to fight against them. In these circumstances, lenient measures were adopted; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were sent to treat with them. Cade, in a long conference with these ambassadors, behaved with equal decency and firmness; treating them with much respect, but refusing to lay down his arms, till the requisitions in his address were granted. On the return of these messengers, the lord Say, who was most obnoxious to the insurgents, was committed to prison; and the court, not daring to trust to the protection of the army, retired to Kenilworth castle, leaving the lord Scales with a sufficient garrison in the tower of London. Cade, with his followers, came to Southwark, July 1; and, after some hesitation, were admitted into London. There they seized, and, without any trial, beheaded the lord

Continued.

¹²⁶ Stow, p. 390, 391.

Say

A. D. 1450.

Say and Seale, late high treasurer of England, and his son-in-law Sir James Cromer, sheriff of Kent. For a few days they behaved tolerably well; but being persons of low birth and indigent circumstances, they could not long behold great wealth within their reach, without seizing some of it, of which their leader set them an example. This alarmed the more opulent citizens, who, with the assistance of the lord Scales, drove the plunderers out of the city, July 5. They attempted next day to break in by the bridge; but after a long and bloody struggle, they were obliged to desist, and agree to a short truce. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, who resided in the tower, being informed by their spies, that they were much dispirited by their late repulse, caused a pardon under the great seal to be proclaimed in Southwark, to all who immediately departed to their own homes. This well-timed proclamation produced a wonderful effect. In a few hours that army, lately so formidable, disappeared. Cade, finding himself thus abandoned, put his booty on board a barge, and sent it to Rochester, and proceeded by land with a few attendants: but being denied admittance into Queenborough castle, he dismissed all his followers, and put on a disguise. A proclamation was immediately published, offering a reward of 1000 marks to any who brought him in, dead or alive. He was discovered lurking in a garden at Hothfield in Sussex, by Alexander Eden, a gentleman of Kent, and, making some resistance, was killed, and his body brought to London¹²⁷. Thus

¹²⁷ Stow, p. 391, 392. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 275.

ended

ended an insurrection which, under a leader of higher rank and greater honour, might have produced a revolution.

A. D. 1450.

About this time Edmund duke of Somerset returned into England (having lost Normandy, and all the territories of the English in the north of France, except Calais), and took possession of that place, in the favour of the queen and hatred of the nation, which had been filled by the late duke of Suffolk: an unfortunate circumstance, which prolonged the discontents of the people, and the confusions of the country.

Duke of Somerset returns to England.

While England was a scene of the most violent faction and discord; the French were employed in conquering Guienne, and the English territories in the south of France, which they would not have attempted in other circumstances; and, to their own surprise, they made this conquest with greater ease, and in a shorter time, than that of Normandy. For though the people of the principality of Aquitaine dreaded falling under the dominion of the French, and were warmly attached to the English government, under which they and their ancestors had lived happily about 300 years; yet, knowing the distracted state of England, and that they could not expect any effectual protection from thence, the far greatest part of the nobility submitted without resistance, in order to preserve their honours and estates; and many of the fortified towns, for similar reasons, opened their gates to the French troops as soon as they appeared. It would be tedious to attend the progress of the French armies in making this conquest. It is sufficient

A. D. 1451.
The French recover Guienne.

A.D. 1451.

ficient to say, that they met with little opposition, except from the city of Bourdeaux; and that this conquest was completed by taking possession of Bayonne (the last place held by the English), 25th August A. D. 1451¹²⁸. In this manner, and in so short a time, not only all the conquests of Henry V. but also all the hereditary dominions of the kings of England on the continent, were lost. The truth is, that as the conquests of Henry V. were chiefly owing to the violent factions which then prevailed in France, so the loss of these conquests, and other dominions, was also chiefly owing to the no less violent factions which at this time prevailed in England. So true it is, that *a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand*.

A.D. 1452.
Duke of
York
takes up
arms.

About this time, Richard duke of York returned from Ireland, after he had quieted the commotions, and gained the hearts of the people of that kingdom, by his mild and prudent conduct. The attempts that had been made to prevent his landing in England, left him no room to doubt of the hostile dispositions of the court, and made him hold frequent conferences with his friends about his future operations. By their advice, he raised an army in Wales, where the interest of the Mortimer family was greatest, and marched with it towards London; giving out, that his only intention in taking up arms, was to redress the grievances of the nation, and bring the authors of those grievances, particularly the duke of Somerset, to justice. When he approached the city, he was informed that the gates would be shut against him; on which he

¹²⁸ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 32—40.

passed

passed the Thames at Kingston, and encamped on ^{A.D. 1452.} Burnt-heath, near Dartford ¹²⁹.

In the mean time, the queen and the duke of Somerset, with the assistance of the lords who adhered to the court, raised an army, with which they marched towards their enemies, and encamped on Blackheath. When the two armies lay in this posture, the king sent two bishops and two lords to the duke of York, to demand the reason of his appearing in arms. His answer was the same with his declarations to the public: to which he added, "That as soon as the duke of Somerset was confined, in order to his trial, he would disband his army, and attend the king as his most humble and loyal subject." This proposal was agreed to; the duke of Somerset was confined, or rather confined himself; the duke of York disbanded his army, and waited on the king in his tent, March 1. But how great was his surprise, when he saw his capital enemy (whom he believed to be confined), in the royal presence, at full liberty? Though he perceived that he was ensnared, and in the hands of his enemies, he could not restrain his indignation, but boldly accused Somerset of high treason, who retorted the accusation with equal boldness. As soon as the duke of York left the royal tent, he was arrested, and conducted to London ¹³⁰.

He is ensnared.

When Henry returned to Westminster, he called a great council of the nobility, to consider the mutual accusations of the two dukes. The duke of Somerset, who was at full liberty, and in the

Is delivered.

¹²⁹ Stow, p. 393. Hall, f. 81.

¹³⁰ Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1452. highest favour, earnestly insisted, that the duke of York should be condemned, and executed as a traitor, all his estates confiscated, and all his family seized, as the only means of preserving the king and all the house of Lancaster from destruction. But this measure appeared too violent, in the present temper of the nation, to many of his own party; and several incidents occurred, which prevented its being carried into execution. A report prevailed, that Edward earl of March, the duke's eldest son, at the head of an army, was on his way to London, to rescue his father. At the same time, commissioners arrived at court from the nobility of Guienne, and the citizens of Bourdeaux, representing the earnest desire of the people of that country to return to their obedience to England, and praying for a fleet and army to assist them to shake off the French yoke. The queen and Somerset, knowing that the loss of that country had made them the objects of public hatred, earnestly desired to recover it, in order to regain the favour of the people. This they could not do, if they executed their design against the duke of York. They resolved therefore to set his person free, but to bind his conscience by the strongest ties. He was carried to St. Paul's church; where, in the presence of many prelates, lords, and others, he swore upon the cross, that he would never take up arms against the king, on any pretence. Being then liberated, he retired to his castle of Wigmore in Herefordshire, and lived for some time in great privacy,

privacy, waiting an opportunity to revenge his wrongs and assert his rights¹³¹.

A. D. 1452.

Attempt
to recover
Guienne.

This internal commotion being thus quieted, a commission was granted to the famous Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, to raise a body of troops for the aid of the people of Guienne, according to their request. Though this venerable warrior was now in the 80th year of his age, he executed this commission with all the spirit and activity of youth; and when the army was ready to embark, he was constituted the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine, with very ample powers, September 2¹³². He landed, October 17, with about 4000 men, in the Isle of Medoc, near Bourdeaux; and being joined by L'Esparé, the most considerable person in those parts, that small territory immediately submitted. The citizens of Bourdeaux sent messengers to him with great secrecy, inviting him to advance; and promising to admit his army at one of the gates which was in their possession. He accordingly entered the city, October 23, without opposition, and made the French garrison prisoners¹³³. Having remained there about three weeks, to secure that important conquest, and refresh his troops; and having received a reinforcement of 4000 men, commanded by his son the lord Lisle, with a fleet of eighty ships loaded with provisions, he marched out, and in a very short time reduced all the Bourdelois, and some places in Perigord¹³⁴.

¹³¹ Stow, p. 395. Hall, f. 81, 82.

¹³² Rym. Fœd. tom. ii. p. 313.

¹³³ Monstrelet, tom. 3. c. 41.

A. D. 1453.

Talbot
earl of
Shrews-
bury kill-
ed.

When Charles VII. king of France received intelligence of this revolution, he was at the head of an army, which he had raised against his son the dauphin, and the duke of Savoy; and he immediately detached a body of troops to the assistance of the earl of Clermont, his lieutenant in Guienne, and prepared to follow them with his whole army. As soon as that army arrived, the tide of success began to turn. The French took Chalais, and invested Castillon, a place of great strength and importance, July 13. Apprehending that the English would attempt to raise the siege, they fortified their camp, planting a numerous artillery on its ramparts. The earl of Shrewsbury, with his son the lord Lisle, immediately marched from Bourdeaux towards Castillon, at the head of 1000 men at arms, and 5000 archers. When they approached the French camp, they were astonished at its strength. The men at arms dismounted; and the brave Talbot, riding on a pony, being, from his great age, unable to walk, encouraged his men, and commanded the assault. The conflict was fierce and bloody; and though the enemy's artillery made great havoc among the English, they broke into the camp, and the French began to recoil; when a fresh body of Britons advanced to the charge, and changed the fortune of the day. Talbot was wounded in the beginning of the action; and about an hour after, his horse was killed by a cannon-ball, and he was thrown on the ground. In this extremity, he earnestly conjured his son, lord Lisle, to retire, and save himself for the future service of his

his country. But that young nobleman chose rather to die with, than to desert his renowned father: they were both slain; and the English fled, leaving about 1000 of their number dead on the field of battle, July 23¹³⁵.

A.D. 1453.

After the defeat of the English at Castillon, the French met with little opposition till they reached Bourdeaux, which they invested with a powerful army, August 1. The king, attended by the princes of the blood, and a numerous train of nobles, commanded at this siege, and pushed it with great vigour; and the place was no less vigorously defended, by a garrison of 4000 English, and 6000 citizens and people of the country. But at length, having no prospect of relief, and their provisions beginning to fail, they surrendered the city, October 17; and the English were permitted to depart with all their goods¹³⁶. Thus were these very valuable territories in the south of France, containing 4 archbishoprics, 24 bishoprics, 15 earldoms, 202 baronies, totally and finally lost; by which the revenues of the crown were diminished, the national character degraded, and many persons who possessed great estates and offices in those countries ruined.

Bour-
deaux
taken.

When the discontents occasioned by these losses were at the highest, the queen was delivered of a son (at Westminster, October 13), who was named Edward¹³⁷. That prince's was at this time so un-

Birth of
prince Ed-
ward.

¹³⁵ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 57. Hall, f. 84.

¹³⁶ Monstrelet, tom. 3. f. 58, 59. ¹³⁷ Stow, p. 396.

A.D. 1453. popular, that many defamatory tales concerning her were propagated, and generally believed: but they do not merit a place in history. Soon after the delivery of the queen, the king fell into a lingering distemper, which greatly debilitated both his body and mind, and rendered him unfit for any business¹³⁸. This, with the general and violent hatred of the people against the queen and her favourite the duke of Somerset, threw the court into great confusion and perplexity.

A.D. 1454.
Duke of
York pro-
tector.

Encouraged by these circumstances, the duke of York emerged from his retirement, and came to London, attended by some of the most powerful lords of his party, particularly Richard Nevile earl of Salisbury, and his son of the same name, earl of Warwick, the most potent and popular noblemen in the kingdom. The courtiers, alarmed at the arrival of these great men, with numerous retainers, in the capital, advised the queen to admit the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with some others of their party, into the council, to allay the ferment in the nation, and prevent a civil war. These noblemen being accordingly admitted, soon became predominant. The duke of Somerset was seized in the queen's chamber, and committed to the Tower¹³⁹. The duke of York was appointed to hold a parliament, which was to meet at Westminster, February 14, by a commission under the great seal, dated February 13¹⁴⁰. An accusation against the duke of Somerset was presented to

¹³⁸ Ryin. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 347.

¹³⁹ Hall, f. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Kym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 344.

the

the house of peers, but not prosecuted, which was probably owing to the shortness of the session and multiplicity of business¹⁴¹. Cardinal John Kemp, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, having died in the mean time, a deputation was sent from the house of lords to the king at Windsor, to know his pleasure concerning the persons who were to fill these two high offices. The deputies on their return reported to the house, March 25, "That they had been to wait on the king at Windsor; and after three several repairs thither, and earnest solicitations to speak with the king, they could by no means have any answer, or token of answer, being only told the king was sick." The parliament (in which the York party prevailed) having sufficient evidence of the king's incapacity for government, made an act appointing Richard duke of York protector of the kingdom during the king's pleasure, or till prince Edward came to years of discretion; and this act was confirmed by a commission under the great seal, April 3¹⁴². At the same time the earl of Salisbury, the chief confident of the duke of York, was made chancellor¹⁴³. The duke of Somerset was deprived of the government of Calais, which was granted to the duke of York, July 28, for seven years, with a power to appoint all his officers¹⁴⁴.

A. D. 1454.

A. D. 1455.
Duke of York deprived of the protectorship.

¹⁴¹ Stow, p. 397.¹⁴² Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 346.¹⁴³ Id. *ibid.* p. 345.¹⁴⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 351.

A.D. 1455. in the Tower, the queen was constrained to remain quiet, and allow the duke of York to manage all affairs, as protector of the kingdom. This seems to have lulled that prince asleep, and to have made him imagine he was in no danger of losing his power. But he was soon undeceived: for the king having recovered his health in some measure, about the beginning of this year, at the instigation of the queen, revoked the duke of York's commission of protector, and took the reins of government into his own hands, or rather put them into the hands of his active ambitious consort. One of the first effects of this revolution, was the deliverance of the duke of Somerset from his confinement in the Tower of London, February 5¹⁴⁵.

Arbitration.

The animosity between the dukes of York and Somerset was now become so violent, that it threatened the kingdom with an immediate civil war. To prevent this, several great men interposed, and prevailed upon the two enraged dukes, on March 4, to submit the determination of all their disputes to certain arbitrators, mutually chosen, who were to give in their verdict before June 20¹⁴⁶. But this pacific scheme proved abortive, and this quarrel was sooner decided in another way.

First battle of St. Albans.

The king after his recovery, or rather the queen and Somerset, not contented with depriving the duke of York of the protectorship, deprived him soon after of the government of Calais, though he had a grant of it under the privy seal for seven

¹⁴⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 361, 362. ¹⁴⁶ Id. ibid. p. 362, 363.

years.

years ¹⁴⁷. The duke, enraged at this last injury, gave up all thoughts of a reconciliation with Somerset, retired into Wales, and raised an army among his friends and vassals in that country; and being joined by the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Cobham, &c. with their followers, he marched towards London. On the other side, the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the earls of Northumberland, Stafford, Dorset, Pembroke, and other lords of the Lancastrian party, having raised an army, marched, with the king at their head, from Westminster, May 21, encamped that night at Watford, and next morning took possession of St. Albans. On the evening of the same day, the duke of York encamped at Keyfield, in the neighbourhood of that town, and next morning, May 23, drew up his army in order of battle. Having received a disdainful answer to a respectful message he had sent to the king, he assaulted the town in several places with great fury, and for some time met with a vigorous resistance. But the earl of Warwick having forced his way into Holywell street, and admitted the duke with the bravest of his followers, a fierce conflict ensued, in which many fell on both sides. At length, the duke of Somerset, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, and several other persons of distinction, being killed, and the king, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorset, the lord Sudly, and many others, wounded,

147 Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 351. 363.

the

A.D. 1455. the royalists fled or surrendered, and the Yorkists obtained a complete victory ¹⁴⁸.

Moderation of the duke of York.

On this occasion the duke of York acted with uncommon temper and moderation. Being informed that the king was wounded, and had taken shelter in a tanner's house, he, with the earl of Salisbury, waited upon him, and, falling upon their knees, declared themselves his most loyal subjects, ready to obey his commands. Henry's terrors being a little dispelled by this declaration, he intreated them to put a stop to the pursuit and slaughter; with which they immediately complied ¹⁴⁹. Whether this extraordinary moderation of the duke of York was the effect of his natural disposition, or proceeded from political considerations, may be a little doubtful; though its uniformity through the whole of this contest makes it probable that it was natural. Many conquerors would have made a very different use of such a victory. The duke conducted the king to London, May 24, treating him with every mark of submission and respect.

The duke of York protector.

The victorious party pursued the same moderate measures in a parliament which met at Westminster July 9. The duke of York contented himself with procuring an act of indemnity for himself, and all who had appeared with him in arms against the king at the battle of St. Albans. All the prelates and peers of both parties renewed their oaths of

¹⁴⁸ T. Wethamstede, tom. 2. p. 353—357. Stow, p. 399.

¹⁴⁹ Hall, f. 86. Stow, p. 400.

fealty

fealty to the king; and the session ended, July 31, with a declaration of the innocence of the late duke of Gloucester, a general pardon, and a prorogation to November 12¹⁵⁰. During this interval the duke of York managed all affairs, and did not neglect to bestow several honourable and lucrative offices on his friends, particularly the government of Calais on the earl of Warwick¹⁵¹. When the parliament met again, November 12, the king being in a languishing state, and incapable of business, the house of peers, at the earnest request of the commons, petitioned the king to appoint a protector of the kingdom. In compliance with this petition, the king constituted Richard duke of York protector and defender of the kingdom, till prince Edward came to years of discretion, or till his commission was revoked by the king, with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament. This commission was confirmed in parliament, November 19; and by virtue of another commission, the duke prorogued the parliament from 12th December to 24th January, A. D. 1456¹⁵².

A. D. 1455.


As this commission could not be revoked without the consent of the house of peers, at whose request it had been given, the duke of York imagined that he was now firmly fixed in the protectorship. But he soon found that he was mistaken. The queen, who dreaded to see a prince who had such pretensions to the crown in possession of so

A. D. 1456.
 The duke deprived of the protectorship.

¹⁵⁰ Parl. Hist. v. 2. p. 278. 280. J. Wethamstede, tom. 2. p. 365—377.

¹⁵¹ Hall, f. 87.

¹⁵² Rym. Fœd. tom. 13. p. 369, 370.

much

A.D. 1456.

much power, laboured, by every insinuating seductive art, to gain a majority of the lords to consent to the revocation of the duke's commission. Having succeeded in this, the king came into the house of peers, February 25, and declared, that he was in perfect health, and that there was now no need of a protector; he therefore requested their consent to revoke the duke of York's commission; which was granted¹⁵¹.

A plot.

The duke of York, chagrined to see himself thus outwitted by a woman, and unexpectedly deprived of all his power, left the court, and retired, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, into Yorkshire, where they had frequent meetings and consultations. The queen was not ignorant of those meetings; and, dreading their consequences, she formed a plot to ensnare her three most formidable enemies at once, and get them into her power. As London was not a proper place for executing her design, she conducted the king towards Coventry, under the pretence of giving him the country air and exercise, for the benefit of his health. When the court arrived at Coventry, the king wrote, in the most pressing terms, to the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, to come and attend a council on affairs of the greatest moment. These noblemen, apprehending no danger, set out on their journey with a moderate retinue; but when they approached the city, having received a message from a secret friend at court, charging them not to enter Coventry, but to fly for their lives, they turned, and fled different ways with

¹⁵¹ Rym. Ford. tom. 11. p. 373.

great

great precipitation. The duke of York took shelter in his castle of Wigmore, the earl of Salisbury in his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, and the earl of Warwick at Calais¹⁵⁴. The dispersion of these noblemen produced a temporary calm, and the court returned to Westminster.

A. D. 1456.

As the English had taken advantage of the violent factions which raged in France in the reign of Charles VI. so the French were disposed to take advantage of the no less violent factions which now prevailed in England. But their own wounds were not yet so well healed, as to enable them to inflict very deep ones on their enemies. The marshal de Brezé landed 4000 men, August 28, near Sandwich; and, after a long and bloody conflict, got possession of the place, plundered it, and immediately re-embarked his troops, not daring to remain on shore so much as one night¹⁵⁵. About the same time a body of Britons landed in Cornwall, plundered a few villages, and re-embarked with equal precipitation¹⁵⁶.

A. D. 1457.

The French invade England.

The archbishop of Canterbury, with several other prelates and great men, alarmed at these attempts of foreign enemies, and still more at the discord which reigned amongst the nobility at home, laboured earnestly to put an end to that discord, and bring about a coalition of parties. The king entered warmly into this scheme; and messengers were sent with letters to all the great men of both parties, requiring and entreating them to come to London for that most necessary purpose.

A. D. 1458.

Seeming coalition of parties.

¹⁵⁴ Stow, p. 402. Hall, f. 88.

¹⁵⁵ Monstrelet, t. 3. f. 71.

¹⁵⁶ Hall, f. 88.

A.D. 1458.

Neither of the two parties was at this time so predominant as to dare to disobey so reasonable a requisition. They came therefore from all quarters, but full of mutual distrust and hatred, attended by numerous retinues of armed men. The duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, with the chief men of their party, were lodged in London, where they were secured from danger by the favour of the citizens, and the vigilance of sir Godfrey Bollen lord mayor (who patrolled the streets every night with a great body of armed men), as well as by their own followers. The noblemen of the court-party were lodged in Westminster and the suburbs of London. After several conferences, a seeming reconciliation was concluded, and drawn up in the form of a decree, pronounced by the king, March 24, as arbitrator between the two parties¹⁵⁷. To render this reconciliation more conspicuous, there was a solemn procession of both parties, on the day after, to St. Paul's church, the duke of York leading the queen, and one of his party walking hand in hand with one of the other party, with all the external appearances of the most perfect cordiality¹⁵⁸. But it was soon discovered that these appearances were deceitful.

Riot in
London.

Soon after this procession, the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury retired to York, and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais; from whence he was recalled in the month of July, to answer to certain complaints made against him by

¹⁵⁷ J. Wethamstede, p. 419—422.

¹⁵⁸ Stow, p. 464. Hall, f. 90.

the

the merchants of Lubeck ¹⁵⁹. While he was in London attending this business, as he returned from court, September 9, he was in great danger of being killed in a fray that arose between some of the king's servants and some of his retinue. With great difficulty he made his way to the river, got into his barge, and escaped to London ¹⁶⁰. The earl, and almost all the world, believed that this was a plot formed against his life, by the queen and the young duke of Somerset; he complained loudly of it as a flagrant violation of the late agreement, and hastened into the north to consult with his father and the duke of York. In this consultation it was determined to be upon their guard, to put no trust in the most solemn engagements of their enemies, and to depend upon their own strength and courage for their safety. About the end of the year the earl of Warwick returned to Calais ¹⁶¹.

A.D. 1458.

The earl of Salisbury, having made fruitless applications to court for the punishment of those who had insulted his son, the earl of Warwick, in London, collected his friends and vassals in the north, and marched with them towards Wales, to join the duke of York, who was raising his forces in those parts, according to the concerted plan. But he was interrupted in his march by the lord Audley, who placed himself directly in his way, on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire, September 22, at the head of 10,000 men, which he had raised in Cheshire,

A. D. 1459.
Battle of
Blore-
heath.

¹⁵⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 415. Stowe, p. 404.

¹⁶⁰ Id. ibid.

¹⁶¹ Hall, f. 90, 91.

and

A.D. 1455.

and the parts adjacent, where the Lancastrian interest prevailed. The earl of Salisbury, whose forces did not exceed 5000, supplied his want of strength by a stratagem. The two armies being encamped on the opposite banks of a narrow, but deep and rapid rivulet, he drew up his archers as near the brink as possible, on Sunday morning, September 23, and gave them directions to discharge a flight of arrows against their enemies, and then retire in seeming disorder. Lord Audley, deceived by these appearances, passed the rivulet, with his principal officers, in great haste and little order. In this situation, before one half of their troops had joined them, they were attacked with great fury by their enemies, and after a fierce conflict, defeated; the lord Audley, with 2400 of his men, remaining dead on the field.¹⁶⁰

Yorkists
dispersed.

The earl of Salisbury, after his victory, proceeded on his march, and joined the duke of York at Ludlow; where the earl of Warwick soon after arrived from Calais, with a body of choice troops, commanded, under him, by two renowned warriors, sir Andrew Trollop and sir John Blunt. The king, queen, and court lords, having raised an army, advanced to meet their enemies, and encamped at Ludiford, near Ludlow, October 13, desirous to give battle next day. But, in the mean time, an unexpected event happened, which prevented an action, and produced one of those sudden, surprising revolutions, which were so fre-

¹⁶⁰ Stow, p. 405. Hall, f. 91. J. Wethamsted, p. 455.

quent

quent in this period. The duke of York, in all his contests with the court, professed the greatest loyalty to the king, and carefully concealed his design to seize the crown, which was known only to a few of his special confidants. This important secret was, either by the duke himself, or some of his confidants, communicated to sir Andrew Trollop: who being really attached to the house of Lancaster, deserted to the king with the troops under his command, in the night of October 13. Several others, induced by a proclamation of pardon from the king, discovered a disposition to imitate their example, or at least to depart to their own homes. The duke of York, and his chief friends, struck with consternation, and not knowing whom to trust, determined to save themselves by flight. The duke, with his second son, the earl of Rutland, fled through Wales into Ireland. His eldest son, the earl of March, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, made their escape into Devonshire, and from thence to Calais, where they landed November 2¹⁶³. In this manner, the lately-triumphant Yorkists were dispersed, and seemingly ruined, in a moment, and without a blow.

A. D. 1459.

To push this unexpected advantage as far as possible, a kind of packed parliament was summoned to meet at Coventry, November 20; in which the duke of York, with his two sons, Edward earl of March and Edmund earl of Rutland, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the lord Clinton, and

Parliament.

¹⁶³ J. Wethamstede, p. 459—462. Hall, f. 92. Hollingh. p. 1297.

A. D. 1459. many knights and gentlemen, were attainted as traitors, and their estates confiscated¹⁶⁴.

A. D. 1460. But this gale of prosperity was of short duration; and another of those surprising changes of fortune, which were so frequent in this memorable contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, and give this period of our history so much the air of a romance, very soon took place. The queen, determined to destroy all the friends of the family of York, persuaded the king to send commissioners into those parts of the kingdom where they most abounded; to try and punish all who had been concerned in any of the late insurrections. This excited the most terrible alarms, and made the people look around them for protection from impending ruin. The people of Kent, who were particularly obnoxious, sent messengers to the lords at Calais, earnestly intreating them to come over, and promising that the whole county would join them on their landing. These lords, burning with the most ardent desires to retrieve their losses and take vengeance on their enemies, joyfully accepted of the invitation, and landed at Sandwich with only 1500 of their followers. They were immediately joined by the lord Cobham, with 4000 well-armed troops; and so general was the rising in their favour, that they entered London, July 2, with an army of 40,000 men¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶⁴ Parliament. Hist. v. 2. p. 289, &c. Wethamstede, p. 462—472. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 455.

¹⁶⁵ J. Wethamstede, p. 478. Stow, p. 408. Hall, f. 94.

In the mean time, the queen, with those lords and gentlemen who adhered to the house of Lancaster, having collected an army at Coventry (which was then called the queen's chamber), marched towards London. But their enemies saved them the trouble of so long a march: for the earls of March and Warwick, with the lords Cobham and Bourchier, at the head of 25,000 of their best troops, departed from London to meet them; and the two armies came in sight of each other, July 10, near Northampton; where a bloody battle was fought, in which the Yorkists obtained a complete victory. The duke of Buckingham, who commanded the royal army, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lords Beaumont and Egermont, with many knights and gentlemen, were killed; as the commanders on the other side had given particular directions to their soldiers to spare none of the nobility or gentry. The queen, with her son the prince of Wales, fled with only a few persons in their company; and after skulking for some time in different places, they took shelter in Scotland; where they arrived in a very wretched condition, having been robbed of their money and baggage by the way¹⁸⁶.

A. D. 1460.

Battle of
North-
ampton.

After the battle, the victorious earls found the king in his tent almost alone, treated him with great respect, and carried him in a kind of procession into Northampton. Having rested, and refreshed their troops in that place three days, they set out on their return to London, entered that capital in triumph, July 16, and lodged the king in the bi-

The king
conducted
to Lon-
don.

¹⁸⁶ J. Wethamstede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.

A. D. 1460.

shop's palace¹⁶⁷. This contest seemed now to be at an end; the chief supporters of the house of Lancaster being killed or taken prisoners, the queen, with her son, expelled the kingdom, and the weak, unhappy Henry in the hands of his enemies. But torrents of blood were yet to flow before it was determined; owing, on the one hand, to the political timidity of the duke of York, and, on the other, to the activity and undaunted spirit of queen Margaret.

Parliament.

Immediately after the victory at Northampton, messengers were sent into Ireland, to inform the duke of York of the success of his friends, and intreat him to return to England. In the mean time, his party being in possession of all the power of the king, as well as of his person, did not neglect to employ it for the benefit of themselves and their friends; though they paid more regard to justice than is commonly done on similar occasions¹⁶⁸. They issued writs in the king's name, July 30, for a parliament to meet at Westminster, October 7, directed to all the peers of both parties, without distinction, and permitted the members of the house of commons to be elected according to law¹⁶⁹. Two days after the meeting of parliament, the duke of York reached London, rode through the city in great state, alighted at Westminster-hall, and went directly to the house of peers; where, standing under the royal canopy, he laid his right hand on the cushion, and seemed to expect an in-

¹⁶⁷ J. Wethamstede, p. 480. Hall, f. 94. Stow, p. 409.¹⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 459, 460. ¹⁶⁹ Cotton Abridg. p. 665.

vitation

vation to place himself in the throne. In this he was disappointed. A solemn silence reigned in the house for some moments. At length the archbishop of Canterbury asked him, if he would go with him, and wait upon the king; to which the duke, in great agitation, replied,—“ I know no person to whom I owe that mark of respect, which is more justly due to myself from all others;” and then hurried out of the house¹⁷⁰.

A. D. 1460.

The duke of York having made this discovery of his design to claim the crown, did not affect to keep it any longer a secret. A few days after (October 16) he, by his counsel, gave in to both houses a formal claim of the crown, with his pedigree on which that claim was founded, deriving his descent from Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. and elder brother to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, from whom Henry VI. was descended. This claim and pedigree (which was perfectly clear and well authenticated) was laid before the king; whose counsel, a few days after, presented arguments in support of his title, and objections to the claim of the duke of York; which were communicated to that prince, and answered in his name. This great cause, having been thus pleaded by the parties, was debated several days in parliament; and, as it is said, with great freedom; one party supporting the title of the house of Lancaster, on the grounds of—parliamentary settle-

¹⁷⁰ The above account of this transaction is taken from J. Wethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's (who was probably present), and is more worthy of credit than the accounts of later historians.

A.D. 1460.

ments—long possession—and frequent oaths of fealty; the other contending for the superior right of the house of York, as descended from the eldest branch of the royal family. After long and warm debates, the following compromise was proposed, adopted, and formed into an act of parliament, November 1, viz. that Henry shall continue king during his life, and,—That the duke of York, or his heir, shall succeed to the crown on Henry's death. Many other stipulations were added, to secure the success of this scheme¹⁷¹. But contests for a crown are not so easily compromised; and though this arrangement seemed to satisfy both, it in reality satisfied neither of the contending parties. The late parliament at Coventry, which had attainted the duke of York and his friends, was declared to have been no lawful parliament, and all its acts rescinded¹⁷².

The two
roses.

The calm produced by the above compromise was very short, and many circumstances portended an approaching storm. The whole nation was now divided into two parties; the one distinguished by the red rose, the badge of the house of Lancaster, the other by the white rose, the badge of the house of York. Two historians, who flourished in those unhappy times, have drawn a most affecting picture of the distracted state of the country, and the violent animosity of the two parties¹⁷³. The chief strength of the Lancastrian party lay in the north,

¹⁷¹ Wethamstede, p. 484, &c. Stow, p. 409.

¹⁷² Statutes, 39 Hen. VI.

¹⁷³ Wethamstede, p. 492. Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 529.

and

and of the York party in London, the south of England, and marches of Wales: though both had partizans in every corner of the kingdom, and frequently in the same family.

A. D. 1462.

The king, or rather the duke of York in his name, sent a requisition to the queen to return to court with her son prince Edward. But that princess had other designs in view. She had met with a kind reception in Scotland; the young king, James III. being nearly related to the family of Lancaster. Many martial adventurers of that nation espoused her cause, and she was there joined by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and other fugitives of her party; who being united, formed a small army, with which she entered England. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the other barons, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, crowded to her standard; and she soon saw herself at the head of an army of 20,000 men; with which she marched southward.¹⁷⁴

The queen invades England.

The duke of York, receiving intelligence of this invasion, committed the custody of the king's person, and the guard of the city, to the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick; sent his eldest son, Edward, into the marches of Wales, to raise an army; and then, December 2, set out from London, attended by his second son, Edmund earl of Rutland, and his friend the earl of Salisbury, with a small body of troops. He proceeded northward,

Battle of Wakefield.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, f. 94. Hollingh. p. 1303.

A. D. 1460.

by easy marches, to give his friends an opportunity of joining him; and when he reached Wakefield, December 24, his army amounted to 5000 men. There he received the disagreeable news, that the queen was approaching with an army four times the number of his; which obliged him to conduct his troops into his castle of Sandal, where he was besieged. He probably designed to remain on the defensive, till he was joined by his son the earl of March; but either want of provisions,—too great confidence in the courage of his troops,—or the insults of the besiegers, made him change his mind, and resolve to give the enemy battle, contrary (it is said) to the advice of his two great confidants, the earl of Salisbury and sir David Hall¹⁷⁵. Accordingly he drew up his little army in order of battle, on the morning of December 30, and marched down the hill towards the enemy. The duke of Somerset, who commanded the queen's army, had advanced the earl of Wiltshire, with a body of troops on one wing, and the lord Clifford on the other, with orders to lie concealed till the battle began, and then to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. The duke of York attacked the main body, commanded by the duke of Somerset, with great fury; but was instantly surrounded, and in half an hour he and 2800 of his men were killed, and almost all the rest taken prisoners¹⁷⁶.

A. D. 1461. The queen and her partisans were immoderately elated with this victory, and made a cruel use of it,

¹⁷⁵ Hall, f. 98, 99. ¹⁷⁶ Wethamstede, p. 489. Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 550. Hall, f. 99. Stow, p. 412.

imagining that it was decisive. The lord Clifford murdered in cold blood, on the bridge of Wakefield, the earl of Rutland, a young prince of exquisite beauty and great hopes. The same ferocious baron, having found the body of the duke of York on the field, cut off the head, put it on a spear, and presented it to the queen, who commanded it, with a paper crown upon it, to be placed on the walls of York¹⁷⁷. The earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner, and, with several knights and gentlemen, sent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, without trial, and without mercy. The queen's army consisted chiefly of the borderers of both nations, who had been allured to her standard by the promise of permission to plunder all the country beyond Trent. This permission they now used, and marked their way with desolation as they advanced southward, plundering, and often burning churches, monasteries, and private houses, without distinction¹⁷⁸.

A.D. 1461,
Cruelties
of the
queen's
followers,

Edward earl of March was at Gloucester when he received the melancholy tidings of his father's death, and the destruction of his army. Though he was much afflicted at the loss of so good a parent, and so many friends, he was not dispirited, but marched immediately to Shrewsbury, at the head of 23,000 men, to meet the queen and her victorious army. Here he received intelligence, that Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, uterine bro-

Battle of
Mortimer's
cross.

¹⁷⁷ Wethamstede, a contemporary writer, says the duke of York was taken alive, and beheaded on the field of battle. J. Wetham. p. 489. ¹⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 495, Continuatio. Hist. Croyl. p. 531.

A. D. 1461.

ther to king Henry, and the earls of Wiltshire and Ormond, were following him with a considerable army of Welsh and Irish; which determined him to turn back to encounter these enemies in the first place. The two armies met, February 2, at Mortimer's cross, near Hereford, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the earl of March, now duke of York, obtained a complete victory. The two earls made their escape, leaving 3800 of their men dead on the field; but sir Owen Tudor, father to the earl of Pembroke, with several other knights and gentlemen, were taken and beheaded, according to the barbarous practice of both parties in this cruel contest¹⁷⁹.

Second
battle of
St. Al-
ban's.

The queen was on her march to London when she received the news of this defeat of her friends; and though she was much dejected by it, she determined to proceed, in hopes of getting possession of the capital, and of the king's person, before the young duke of York could come to their relief. But when she reached St. Alban's, she found the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, with the king in their company, and a numerous army, ready to obstruct her progress. On the morning of Shrove-Tuesday, February 17, the queen's troops attempted to force their way through the town of St. Alban's; but were repulsed, with considerable loss, by a strong body of archers posted in the market-place; which obliged them to turn up a lane, through which, after a sharp conflict, they gained

¹⁷⁹ Hall, f. 100. Hollingh. p. 1304. Stow, p. 413.

the

the open fields. Here they found the main body of the enemy ready to receive them, and a fierce action immediately commenced. The victory for some time remained doubtful; but the lord Lovelace, who commanded the Kentish men, either through cowardice or treachery, turning his back, the whole army fell into disorder. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick, knowing that immediate death would be the consequence of their being taken, made their escape, and left the queen in possession of the field. Thus three pitched battles, all of them very bloody, were fought in less than two months, of which we have few examples in history.

A.D. 1461.

At the beginning of the battle, the king was left in his tent, under the care of the lord Bonville, who would have made his escape, but was persuaded by the king to stay with him, upon his royal promise for his safety. But he was beheaded after the battle, without the least regard to the king's promise, the laws of war, or the dictates of humanity. Henry was conducted to lord Clifford's tent, where he had a tender interview with his queen and son. At the queen's desire, he knighted the prince of Wales, with thirty young noblemen and gentlemen, who had distinguished themselves in the preceding action¹⁸⁰.

The queen
recovers
her husband.

If the queen could have marched to London immediately after her victory at St. Alban's, she might perhaps have obtained admittance. But this was

The queen
returns
into the
north.¹⁸⁰ Hall, f. 100.

not

A.D. 1461.

not in her power. Her troops, in opposition to the most peremptory commands, spent several days in plundering St. Albans, and the adjacent country, and pushed their ravages to the very gates of the city. This gave the citizens time to recover from their consternation, and inspired them with a resolution to expose themselves to any danger, rather than admit such savage plunderers. They even stopped a few waggons loaded with provisions, which the magistrates sent to the queen at her desire. Despairing, therefore, of gaining the capital, upon receiving intelligence that the duke of York was advancing at the head of a superior army, she was obliged to relinquish all the advantages of her victory, and retire with her army into the north¹⁸¹.

Accession
of Edward
IV.

The earl of Warwick, after his defeat, collected the remains of his scattered troops, and joined the duke of York at Chipping-Norton; which rendered the army of that prince superior to that of his enemies, and encouraged him to advance with a design to give them battle. But finding that they had decamped, instead of pursuing them, he proceeded to the capital, into which he entered, February 28, amidst the loudest acclamations of the citizens; and on the following days, great crowds of people from Kent, Essex, and the neighbouring counties, came to the city to join his standard. Edward wisely determined to improve the present favourable opportunity. His army being mustered

¹⁸¹ J. Wethamstede, p. 503—508. Hall, f. 100. Stow, p. 414.

A.D. 1461.

in St. John's fields, on Sunday March 2, and a prodigious multitude of the citizens come out to view it, the lord Fauconbridge, who superintended the muster, took an opportunity to harangue the people,—on the unfitness of king Henry for government,—on the misfortunes of his reign,—and on his violation of the late solemn agreement, by attempting to deprive the duke of York of the succession; and concluded with asking them, if they would have Henry to reign over them any longer? on which they cried out, No! no! He then asked them, if they would have Edward duke of York for their king? To which they answered in the affirmative, with the loudest acclamations; and sent a deputation to Edward, to beseech him to assume the government. A great council was assembled next day, of all the prelates, nobles, chief magistrates, and principal gentlemen in and about London; to which Edward, in person, explained his title to the crown, and insisted on that article of the late solemn agreement, by which it was stipulated, “ That if king Henry attempted in any way “ to break the said agreement, the crown should “ immediately devolve to the duke of York or his “ heirs;” and then left the council to consider what he had represented. The council, after a short deliberation, unanimously agreed, “ That “ Henry of Lancaster had forfeited his right to enjoy the crown during his life; and that it was “ now devolved to Edward duke of York;” and concluded with entreating him to accept of that crown which was his undoubted right. Edward,
after

A.D. 1461.

after a short apology for his youth and inexperience, complied with their request. On Tuesday, March 4, the young king (for so he was now called) went in procession to St. Paul's, where *Te Deum* was sung; from thence he proceeded to Westminster-hall; where, being seated on the throne, with the sceptre in his hand, he received the homage of the great men who were present. He was then conducted into the church, seated in the king's seat, and offered at the shrine of St. Edward¹⁸².

Character
of Henry
VI.

Thus ended the inglorious unhappy reign of Henry VI. who lost all the conquests of his illustrious father, and the hereditary dominions of his family in France, and at last the crown of England. His personal appearance was mean, his countenance melancholy and unmeaning, bearing little or no resemblance to the handsome, strong, and active Henry V. and the beautiful queen Katharine. But the weakness of his understanding, and the facility of his temper, were his most fatal defects; the one rendering him quite unfit for holding the reins of government himself, the other making him a passive instrument in the hands of those by whom he was surrounded. In private life, he was harmless and inoffensive, devout (according to the mode of those times), chaste, temperate, humble in prosperity, and patient in adversity: but the weakness of his understanding degraded all his virtues. In a word, Henry VI. was much fitter for a monk than for a monarch, and would have made a better

¹⁸² J. Wethamstede, p. 509—514. Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 532. Hall, f. 101. Stow, p. 415.

figure

figure in a cloister than in a court¹²³. But that insignificance which lost him his crown, saved his life; for when he fell into the hands of his successor, he permitted him to live, not thinking his death necessary to his own security.

A. D. 1461.

Henry VI. cannot be considered as an usurper; and the defence which he made for himself, when he was accused of that crime in the tower, seems to be satisfactory: "My father (said he) and grandfather were kings of England; I was enthroned when I was an infant, crowned when I was a child, received the voluntary homage of all my subjects, and enjoyed the royal authority, unchallenged, almost forty years¹²⁴." He reigned thirty-eight years and six months. His only child, Edward prince of Wales, was now in the seventh year of his age. We shall afterwards hear of his unhappy fate.

Henry VI.
no usurper.

SECTION IV.

From the accession of Edward IV. A. D. 1461, to the accession of Edward V. A. D. 1482.

EDWARD IV. was in the bloom of youth, being hardly nineteen years of age, when he ascended the throne of England; beautiful in his person, engaging in his deportment, excelling in all manly exercises, brave, active, and even pru-

A. D. 1461.

Edward
marches
into the
north.

¹²³ See John Blackman, *De Virtutibus Henrici VI.* Apud Otterbourne et Wethamstede. edit. Oxon. 1732. v. 1. p. 287—306.

¹²⁴ *Id. ibid.* p. 305.

A.D. 1461.

dent beyond his years. Instead of spending his time in vain amusements, he applied to business with so much ardour, that the first division of his army, conducted by the earl of Warwick, left London, March 7; and, five days after, he followed with the rest of his forces. On that same day, he gave a specimen of that cruelty which afterwards stained his character, by ordering the execution of one Walter Walker, a grocer, for having spoken contemptuously of his title to the crown. His army increased as he advanced; and when he reached Pomfret, March 27, he found himself at the head of a gallant army, of between 40,000 and 50,000 men¹.

Battle of
Towton.


Queen Margaret, and the nobles of her party, after their return into the north, had been very active in recruiting their army, which now lay at York, and amounted to 60,000 men. The duke of Somerset was appointed commander in chief; who, leaving the king, queen, and prince of Wales, with a proper guard, at York, marched out to meet the enemy, March 28. On that day, the pass at Ferrybridge was eagerly disputed by advanced parties of both armies; and, after two bloody skirmishes, was secured by the Yorkists, who there passed the river Arc. Early in the morning of Palm Sunday, March 29, these two mighty armies, inflamed with the most violent animosity against one another, were drawn up in order of battle on the fields between the two villages Saxton and Towton,

¹ J. Wethamstedc, p. 515. Stow, p. 415. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 102.

about

about ten miles south of York. Edward issued orders to his troops to take no prisoners, and give no quarter; nor is it improbable that the orders on the other side were in the same sanguinary strain. The action began at nine in the morning, in the midst of a heavy shower of snow, which was blown with great violence in the faces of the Lancastrians, and prevented them from seeing the enemy distinctly, or judging rightly of their distance. The lord Fauconbridge, taking advantage of this circumstance, commanded his archers to advance briskly a few paces, and shoot their flight arrows with all their force, and then fall back. These arrows, being light, reached the Lancastrians, and made them almost empty their quivers at too great a distance. The Yorkists then advanced; and, pouring in showers of arrows upon their enemies, did great execution, and made them rush on to a close engagement, with swords, spears, battle-axes, and other instruments of death. The conflict now became general, fierce, and bloody, and so continued between four and five hours, victory sometimes seeming to incline to the one side, and sometimes to the other. At length, towards evening, the Lancastrians began to recoil; and, being hard pressed, they broke, and fled on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter. This was one of the most bloody battles that ever was fought in Britain. Those who were employed to number and bury the dead (as we are told by a contemporary writer who lived near the scene of action), declared, that their number amounted to 38,000^a. Amongst these

^a Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 533.

A.D. 1461.  were many persons of rank and fortune; as the earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Shrewsbury; the lords Clifford, Beaumont, Nevil, Willoughby, Wells, Roos, Scales, Grey, Dacres, and Molineux; besides a prodigious number of knights and gentlemen³. This was the fourth pitched battle fought in less than three months in England, in which above 60,000 of her bravest sons perished; among whom were several princes of the blood, and many of the prime nobility.

Henry flies
into Scot-
land.

The dukes of Somerset and Exeter, when they saw that all was lost, rode full speed to York, attended by several lords and gentlemen; and, taking with them the king, queen, and prince of Wales, fled into Scotland; and never thought themselves safe till they had reach'd the capital of that kingdom⁴.

Execu-
tions.

Edward, not satiated with all the blood that had been spilt in battle, caused much noble blood to be shed on the scaffold. The earl of Devonshire and sir W. Hill, being taken in their flight, were beheaded at York, and their heads set up on the walls of that city; from which those of the duke of York and the earl of Salisbury were taken down. The earl of Ormond and Wiltshire was beheaded at Newcastle, and sir Thomas Fulford at Hexham⁵.

Edward
crowned.

After celebrating the feast of Easter at York, Edward marched as far north as Newcastle; and

³ Stow, p. 415. J. Wethamstede, p. 517. Hall, Hen. VI. f. 101.

⁴ Holingsh. p. 1297. Leland's Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 499.

⁵ Stow, p. 415.

having

having left the earl of Warwick there with a competent force, to keep that part of the country in order and subjection, he returned to London, June 26; and three days after he was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity⁶.

A.D. 1461.

When Henry VI. with his family and friends, arrived in Scotland, they found that kingdom in almost as distracted a condition as that which they had left. James III. was a child of only eight years of age; the regents appointed by parliament were divided into parties; and the whole country was a scene of factions and family feuds. The royal and noble fugitives, however, were kindly received and entertained. Queen Margaret soon contracted a friendship with the queen-mother, Mary of Gelders, by proposing a marriage between the prince of Wales and her eldest daughter, which was concluded. She also gained the favour of the regents, by surrendering to them the town and castle of Berwick, April 25⁷. To counteract these operations of his most active enemy, Edward secretly negotiated an alliance with the potent and turbulent earl of Ross, and lord of the isles, June 2, and gave the earl of Warwick a commission to treat with the regents of Scotland for a truce, July 18⁸. This prevented a national declaration from Scotland in favour of the exiled family, but did not prevent many individuals of all ranks from espousing their cause.

Negotiations in Scotland.

⁶ Hall, Edward IV. f. 1. Holingsh. p. 1315.

⁷ Stow, p. 416.

⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 474, 475.

A.D. 1461.

Parliament.

Edward, determined to secure that crown by law which he had gained by arms, issued writs, May 23, summoning a parliament to meet at Westminster, July 6; but the unsettled state of the country, and the dread of an invasion from Scotland, caused it to be prorogued to November 4^o. So many of the nobility had fallen in battle, or died on the scaffold, or had been driven into exile, that there remained only one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons, who were summoned to this parliament. Henry IV. was declared to have been an usurper; the right of Edward IV. to the crown was acknowledged and confirmed; the posterity of Henry of Derby, commonly called Henry IV. were declared incapable of holding any estate or dignity in any part of the English dominions for ever; Henry VI. late king of England, Margaret late queen, Edward called prince of Wales, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Pembroke, with a prodigious number of lords, knights, and gentlemen, were attainted; the heirs of all those of the York party who had been condemned as traitors by the other party when they were predominant, were restored to the estates and honours of their ancestors; and, in a word, every thing was done the victorious prince thought fit to dictate; for which he gave them many thanks, and made them many promises, in a speech from the throne, at the end of the session ¹⁰.

⁹ Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, 1 Edw. IV.

¹⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 311—319.

At the conclusion of this session of parliament, in which so many great estates had been forfeited, Edward enriched his friends with the spoils of his enemies; and, to gratify their ambition, he raised some of them to additional honours. His eldest brother George was created duke of Clarence, and his youngest brother Richard, duke of Gloucester; the lord Fauconbridge was made earl of Kent, lord Bouchier, earl of Essex, and sir John Nevil, brother to the earl of Warwick, was made lord Montacute¹¹.

A. D. 1461.

Rewards.

Edward was no less attentive to punish his enemies, than to reward his friends. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, with Aubray de Vere, his son, and several knights and gentlemen of the Lancastrian party, were beheaded on Tower-hill, in February A. D. 1462¹².

A. D. 1462.

Punish-
ments.

While Edward was thus labouring by all means to fix himself firmly on the throne, his most formidable adversary queen Margaret was labouring with equal ardour to procure forces to pull him down. Finding that she could not bring the regents of Scotland to declare war against Edward, she, with the duke of Somerset, and a small retinue, sailed to the continent, to solicit succours from the king of France, and her other potent friends. Though Lewis XI. who had lately mounted the throne of France, was one of the most selfish unfeeling princes that ever lived, he could not refuse a seemingly kind reception to so near a relation in so great dif-

Queen
Marga-
ret's voy-
age to
France,
and re-
turn.

¹¹ Parliament. Hist. p. 311—319. Hall, Edw. IV. f. 1.

¹² Stow, p. 416. Holingsh. p. 1313.

A. D. 1462.

trefs. But the unhappy queen, after long and earnest solicitations, at last discovered that no effectual succours were to be expected from that quarter; and therefore, having obtained a loan of 20,000 livres, and a small body of troops, commanded by Peter de Brezé, seneschal of Normandy, she sailed for England, and after a very stormy passage arrived off Tinmouth, about the end of this year. Being prevented from landing there, her fleet was overtaken by a storm, many of the ships were put on shore near Bamburgh castle, and that one in which the queen sailed got into Berwick, with great difficulty. The French troops took shelter in Holy Island, and were soon attacked by a superior force, and the greatest part of them killed or taken; but their commander, with some others, made their escape to Berwick¹³.

A. D. 1463.
Cause of
Henry VI.
desperate.

Nothing could appear more desperate than the cause of Henry VI. and his family at this time. Almost all their powerful friends in England were either killed in battle, put to death on the scaffold, or attainted and banished out of the kingdom. Edward was negotiating truces with the kings of France and Scotland, the only princes from whom they could expect assistance; and there was the greatest probability that these negotiations would succeed¹⁴. Henry duke of Somerset, the nearest relation and greatest support of the house of Lancaster, viewing things in this light, yielded to despair, and made his peace with Edward; and

¹³ Monstrelet, t. 3. p. 91. Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 416.

¹⁴ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 502—513.

his

his example was followed by sir Ralph Percy, and many others ¹⁵. In a word, Henry, his queen, and son, were left almost alone at Edinburgh, without friends, without money, and without any probable ground of hope.

A. D. 1463.

But nothing could subdue the active undaunted spirit of queen Margaret. Leaving her husband and son at Edinburgh, she sailed from Kircudbright, in Galloway, April 8, with four ships, and, landing in Brittany, obtained a present of 12,000 crowns from that duke ¹⁶. From thence she proceeded to the court of France, where she was treated with becoming respect, and stood god-mother to the only son of the duke of Orleans, long afterwards Lewis XII ¹⁷. Here, however, she had the mortification to see the ambassadors of king Edward, who were negotiating a truce, well received, and frequently admitted to audiences. The truth is, that Margaret was a very unwelcome guest at the court of France; and, in order to hasten her departure, Lewis, after exacting from her an obligation to deliver up Calais as soon as it was in her power, privately gave her a small body of troops, with which she arrived safe in Northumberland, in the month of October, expecting that the people of that country would take up arms in her favour. But they, observing that she had brought but a small number of auxiliaries from France, in general remained quiet, which obliged her, after taking a few castles, to retire into Scotland, where she spent the winter ¹⁸.

Queen Margaret's second voyage to France.

¹⁵ Hall, f. 1: Stow, p. 416.

¹⁶ W. Wyrcester, p. 493.

¹⁷ Villar, tom. 16. p. 454.

¹⁸ W. Wyrcester, p. 493, 494.

A. D. 1463.

Precau-
tions taken
by Ed-
ward.

Though England enjoyed a kind of peace during the absence of queen Margaret, Edward seems to have been under continual apprehensions of an attack both from France and Scotland. To guard against these attacks, he constituted sir John Nevile, lately created viscount Montacute, warden of the marches towards Scotland, June 1, with power to array all the men in the northern counties, between sixteen and sixty years of age, to repel any invasion that might be made in those parts¹⁹. In the beginning of August, he gave a commission to the earl of Warwick to guard the sea, with a certain number of ships and men, probably with an intention to intercept queen Margaret in her return²⁰. When he received intelligence that she had landed in the north, he came with all possible expedition to York; but being there informed that she had retired into Scotland, he returned into the south²¹.

A. D. 1464.

Queen
Margaret
invades
England.

Queen Margaret, being determined to make an effort to recover the crown which she had lost, before the truce between the two British kingdoms was concluded, collected all the friends of her family who had fled into Scotland, engaged as many of the Scots as she could, by the promise of rewards, and permission to plunder, to enter into her service; and joining all these to her French auxiliaries, formed a considerable army, with which, accompanied by her husband and son, she entered England about the middle of April. Her affairs for

¹⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 500.²⁰ Id. ibid. p. 506.²¹ Id. ibid. p. 510.

some

some time wore a favourable aspect. The castles of Bamburgh, Dunstanburgh, and Alnwick, were either taken by her troops, or delivered to her by their governors. The duke of Somerset, sir Ralph Percy, and several others who had made their peace with Edward, on hearing of the queen's successes, flew to her standard with their followers²².

A. D. 1464.

King Edward appears to have been greatly alarmed at the defection of his pretended friends, and the success of his declared enemies. He dispatched the lord viscount Montacute into the north, to raise his forces in those parts, and obstruct the progress of the enemy; and issued a proclamation, commanding every man in England, from sixteen to sixty, to be ready to attend him and march against his enemies at a day's warning²³. Setting out from London, attended by a splendid train of nobility and a powerful army, he reached York towards the end of May²⁴.

Edward's fears and preparations.

The fears of king Edward, and the hopes of queen Margaret, were both of short duration; and the lord Montacute had the honour to dispel the one, and to destroy the other. He first defeated and killed the brave sir Ralph Percy at Hedgeley moor near Wooller, April 25²⁵. Having received a reinforcement from the south, he advanced towards the main army of the enemy, encamped on a plain called *the Levels*, near Hexham, attacked them in their camp, and, after a long and bloody

Battles of Hedgeley moor and Hexham.

²² Hall, Ed. IV. f. 2. Stow, p. 417.²³ Rym. Feod. tom. 11. p. 524.²⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 524.²⁵ Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV.

struggle,

A. D. 1464.

struggle, obtained a complete victory, May 15²⁶. King Henry made his escape by the swiftness of his horse, and was conducted into the county of Lancaster, where he was kindly entertained, and long concealed, by the friends of his family²⁷. As a reward for this decisive victory, the lord Montacute was immediately after created earl of Northumberland, and obtained a grant of the forfeited estates of the Percy family²⁸.

The queen
and prince,
&c. escape.

Queen Margaret, with her son prince Edward, escaped from this fatal battle, but pursued a different route from king Henry, and were received into Bamburgh castle by sir Ralph Gray²⁹. From thence they soon after embarked, with the duke of Exeter, sir John Fortescue, the famous lawyer, chancellor to king Henry, some ladies, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of about two hundred, and arrived safe at Sluis in Flanders. After visiting the earl of Charolois, descended by his mother from the house of Lancaster, she proceeded

²⁶ Hall, f. 2. Ed. IV. W. Wyrcester, p. 498.

²⁷ Hall, f. 2.

²⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 524.

²⁹ If the strange adventure mentioned by Monstrelet, the French historian of those times, ever happened to queen Margaret and her son, it was most probably in their flight from this battle. That writer relates, that the queen and her son, flying from a battle alone, were bewildered in a wood, and fell among a gang of robbers, who plundered them of their money, jewels, and every thing valuable; that the robbers quarreling and fighting about the division of their booty, the queen and prince fled, but soon after met with another robber, to whom the queen presented the prince, saying, "Behold, my friend, the son of your king, I commit him to your protection;" with which the robber was so much affected, that he conducted them to the sea-coast, from whence they sailed, Monst. tom 3. p. 96.

to the court of his father Philip, the good duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of his age. Though Philip had long been on ill terms with her and her family, he received the disconsolate queen with the greatest tenderness, entertained her and her friends in the most splendid manner, and having made her many valuable presents, he sent her, under a proper guard, into Lorrain, where she settled, with her son and principal followers, in a castle given her, with the estate annexed to it, by her father Renié, duke of Anjou, and titular king of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem³⁰.

A.D. 1464.

The battle of Hexham was very fatal to the friends of the house of Lancaster. Besides those who fell in the action, many of them lost their lives on the scaffold. Henry duke of Somerset was taken, and beheaded the day after, at Hexham, with four others; William Taylbois, earl of Kyme, Thomas lord Roos, Robert lord Hungerford, and sir Thomas Fynderne, were taken a few days after the battle, and beheaded at Newcastle; and twelve knights and gentlemen were carried to York, and there executed³¹. Many of the fugitives had taken shelter in the castle of Bamburgh, which was besieged by the earls of Warwick and Northumberland. The garrison capitulated in July, and the governor, sir Ralph Gray, was beheaded at Doncaster³².

Executions.

³⁰ W. Wyrcester, p. 497. Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 96.³¹ W. Wyrcester, p. 498.³² Id. p. 499.

To

A.D. 1464.

Truce
with Scot-
land.

To complete Edward's good fortune, all the castles in the north were reduced in the course of this summer; and a long truce of fifteen years with Scotland was concluded, at York, June 1, by which the king of Scots engaged to give no aid or protection to king Henry, his queen, or son, or any of their adherents³³. Edward, having thus reduced the north to a state of perfect tranquillity, returned into the south, by slow journeys, spending the last months of this year at different places by the way³⁴.

Edward
declares
his mar-
riage.

In that interval of tranquillity which Edward enjoyed when queen Margaret was at the court of France, he formed a connection which involved himself, his family, and his subjects, in many calamities. Being young and amorous, he was captivated by the charms of Elisabeth Widville, widow of sir John Grey of Groby, and daughter of Jacqueline de Luxemburgh, duchess of Bedford, by her second husband, Richard Widville, lord Rivers. Having tried all the arts of seduction in vain, he was prompted by the violence of his passion, to marry her privately, at Grafton, May 1, A. D. 1463³⁵. Conscious of the imprudence of this step, he kept it a profound secret during the troubles which ensued. These troubles being now over, Edward thought it a proper time to discover the important secret; which he did, at Reading,

³³ Nicolson's Border-Laws, p. 26. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 525.

³⁴ *Id.* *ibid.* p. 531—538.

³⁵ Fragment, ad finem Sproti Chron. p. 293. Fabian, vol. 2. §. 216.

Septem-

September 29, this year, when Elisabeth was led to the abbey church of that place, by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, and there declared queen of England, and received the compliments of all the great men who were present³⁶. The part acted by the earl of Warwick in this solemnity makes it very improbable that he had been employed in negotiating a marriage between Edward and the princess Bona, sister to the queen of France, and that he was enraged at the king for not completing that marriage; though this is asserted by many of our historians, both ancient and modern³⁷.

A.D. 1464

The inconveniency of the marriage of a sovereign with one of his own subjects soon appeared on this occasion. The court was immediately crowded with the queen's relations, who ingrossed the royal favour, and obtained every thing their avarice or ambition prompted them to desire. The queen's father was created earl Rivers, appointed treasurer of the exchequer, and constable of England;—her eldest brother, Anthony, was married to the only daughter of Thomas lord Scales, with whom he obtained that title and a great estate;—John, another of her brothers, married the old duchess of Norfolk, a lady of immense fortune;—the daughter and heir of the duke of Exeter, the king's niece, was given in marriage to sir Thomas Grey, one of the queen's sons by her

Favours
heaped on
the queen's
relations.

³⁶ W. Wyrcester, p. 500.

³⁷ Hall, Ed. IV. f. 5. Stow, p. 418. Habington, p. 437. Molingh. p. 667. Grafton, p. 665. Polyd. Virg. p. 513. Hume, vol. 2. p. 393. edit. 1762.

A. D. 1464.

former husband;—five of her sisters were in a short time married to the heirs of five of the greatest families in England³⁸. Such a prodigious flow of prosperity could hardly fail to render this favourite family a little insolent, and to draw upon them the envy and indignation of those from whom they intercepted the smiles and bounty of their sovereign. But these passions did not appear immediately, nor produce any fatal effect for some time.

A. D. 1465.
Negotia-
tions.

Secure on the side of Scotland by the late truce for fifteen years, Edward laboured to procure similar security from the princes on the continent, that the Lancastrians might not receive aid from any quarter, to enable them to disturb his government. With this view, he sent the great earl of Warwick, at the head of a splendid embassy, in the spring of this year, to negotiate treaties of peace, or truces, with the earl of Charolois, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the king of France, who had all discovered some compassion for the exiled family. But the ambassadors found all these princes so keenly engaged in the war called the *Public-good*, that they had little leisure to attend to negotiations; which is probably the reason that the commissions to the same ambassadors were renewed the succeeding year, when short truces were concluded³⁹.

Corona-
tion of the
queen.

In the mean time Edward was employed at home in preparing for the coronation of his beloved consort. In honour of that solemnity, he made no

³⁸ Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 231. W. Wyrcester, p. 501—506. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 581.

³⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 540—543. p. 562—568. W. Wyrcester, p. 503, 504.

fewer

fewer than thirty-seven knights of the Bath, on A. D. 1465.
 Thursday May 23; among whom were several of
 the chief nobility. On Friday the queen was met
 at Shooters-hill by the lord mayor, aldermen, and
 citizens of London, nobly mounted, and richly
 dressed, and conducted to the Tower; from whence,
 on Saturday, she was carried in a horse-litter, pre-
 ceded by the new-made knights, to Westminster,
 where she was crowned on Sunday, by the arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, with the usual ceremonies⁴⁰.
 After the coronation, magnificent tournaments were
 held at Westminster several days.

The unhappy Henry VI. after suffering many Henry VI.
taken.
 hardships in his concealment, among the friends of
 his family, in the counties of Westmoreland and
 Lancaster, was betrayed by a monk, and appre-
 hended by sir James Harington, as he sat at dinner
 in Waddington-hall, one day in the month of
 July. Sir James, with the assistance of some
 friends, conducted the captive king to London;
 for which service he received a grant of the forfeited
 estate of sir Richard Tunstall⁴¹. Henry was met
 at Islington by his greatest enemy, the earl of
 Warwick, who commanded his feet to be tied to
 the stirrups, and in other respects treated him with
 great indignity⁴²: a sufficient proof that the earl
 had as yet no intention of quarrelling with Edward,
 or of raising Henry again to the throne. In this
 disgraceful posture the fallen monarch was con-

⁴⁰ W. Wyrcester, p. 501—503.

⁴¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 548. W. Wyrcester, p. 504.

⁴² Stow, p. 419.

A. D. 1465. ducted through the streets of London, after a proclamation had been made, that no person should shew him any marks of compassion or respect. When the proceffion reached Tower-hill, he was compelled to ride three times round the pillory, and then lodged in the Tower, where he was treated with a degree of contempt and cruelty, which to a generous spirit would have been worse than death⁴³.

Magnificent feast.

George Nevile, chancellor of England, and brother to the earl of Warwick, had been translated, in the summer of this year, from the see of Exeter to that of York, and was enthroned in September, with astonishing expence and pomp. The duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, and almost all the nobility, bishops, and great men of the kingdom, were present at the magnificent feast on that occasion, except the queen's relations; which seems to indicate, that a coolness had now commenced between them and the family of the Neviles, to whom Edward owed his crown⁴⁴.

A. D. 1466.
Princess
Elisabeth
born.

But this coolness had not come to a great height, nor was there as yet any appearance of an open breach between Edward and his powerful benefactors. For the earl of Warwick had the honour to stand godfather to the princess Elisabeth, of whom the queen was delivered, February 11, at Westminster: the duchesses of York and Bedford, the two grandmothers of the royal infant, were the godmothers⁴⁵.

⁴³ Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 119.

⁴⁴ Leland's Collectanea, vol. 6. p. 1-14.

⁴⁵ W. Wyrcester, p. 505.

While

While Edward enjoyed the greatest prosperity, and his court was a scene of incessant triumph and festivity, those unhappy noblemen who had followed the fortunes of the house of Lancaster were reduced to great distress. Philip de Comines, a writer of undoubted credit, asserts, that he had seen Henry Holland duke of Exeter walking on foot without shoes, and begging his bread from house to house: a strange reverse of fortune for one of the first princes of the blood of England, husband to the eldest sister of the reigning king! The duke of Somerset, and several other great men (as the same author tells us), were in greater misery than common beggars. The duke of Burgundy, when informed of their distress, settled small pensions upon them, barely sufficient for their subsistence ⁴⁶.

A. D. 1466.
~~_____~~
Distress of
the Lan-
castrians.

The secret jealousy and mutual dislike which had early taken place between the queen's relations and the powerful family of the Nevilles, gradually increased, and now began to appear openly. The Widviles viewed the immense wealth, prodigious power, and extensive influence of the three brothers, Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury, John earl of Northumberland, and George archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, with jealousy and terror, and ardently desired to diminish their wealth, power, and influence, in order to increase their own. By degrees they prevailed upon Edward to enter into their views; and a resolution was formed to bring down the Nevilles from that towering pitch of greatness to which they had attained.

A. D. 1467.
Attacks
on the fa-
mily of the
Nevilles.

⁴⁶ Memoirs de Comines, edit. Bruxelles, tom. 1. p. 185.

A. D. 1467.

In consequence of this resolution, the king went to the archbishop of York's house, where that prelate was confined by sickness, June 8, and demanded the seals, which he received, and soon after delivered to the bishop of Bath and Wells⁴⁷. In a parliament that was then sitting at Westminster, an act was passed, empowering the king to resume the estates he had given away (with some exceptions) since his accession to the throne⁴⁸. This act (it is said) was chiefly intended against the Nevilles, who had obtained grants of several forfeited estates, as a reward for their services in raising the king to the throne. The king immediately resumed two manors, which he had granted to the archbishop of York; but abstained from the further execution of the act against that family for some time.

Negotia-
tions of
Warwick
in France.

While these ungenerous attacks were made upon his friends and family, the earl of Warwick was absent on an embassy at the court of France⁴⁹. He was received at that court (then at Rouen) with all the honours that could have been paid the greatest monarch. The artful Lewis, who ardently desired an union with the king of England against his mortal enemy the earl of Charolois, to whom he knew Warwick was no friend, met him seven leagues from Rouen, conducted him into that city, with a solemn procession of all the clergy, June 7, entertained him twelve days in the most splendid manner, and made him the most magnifi-

⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 578.

⁴⁸ Parliament. Hist. v. 2. p. 329. W. Wymester, p. 502.

⁴⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 578.

cent presents⁵⁰. After concluding a truce for eighteen months, the earl returned to England, and arrived in London, July 5, the day on which the parliament was dissolved⁵¹. He was followed into England by the archbishop of Narbon and the bastard of Bourbon, who made Edward the most tempting offers to engage him to form an alliance with the court of France⁵². But these offers came too late, and were rejected.

Philip duke of Burgundy, and his son Charles earl of Charolois, earnestly desired to form a confederacy with England against France. In order to accomplish this, they sent the bastard of Burgundy, in the beginning of June, to the court of England, under the pretence of performing certain feats of arms with Anthony lord Scales, the queen's brother; but in reality to propose a marriage between the earl of Charolois and the lady Margaret, king Edward's sister. Nothing could be more pleasing to Edward than this proposal, as it procured an honourable settlement to a beloved sister, deprived the house of Lancaster of its chief support, and secured a powerful confederate to himself in prosecuting his claims in France. Commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the terms of the marriage; and in the mean time Philip duke of Burgundy died, and Charles succeeded to all his vast dominions⁵³. This event made an alliance with that prince still more desirable.

⁵⁰ Continuat. of Monstrelet, p. 23. ⁵¹ W. Wyrcester, p. 510.

⁵² Id. *ibid.* Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 509.

⁵³ Monstrelet, tom. 3. p. 129. Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 590.

A. D. 1467.

The Nevilles discontented.

The earl of Warwick, soon after his return from France, went into the north, in some degree of discontent, which was not diminished by his conversations with his two brothers, particularly with the archbishop of York. It is not, however, probable, that either the earl or his brothers as yet entertained any thoughts of pulling down Edward, and restoring Henry VI. to the throne.

Marriage and peace with Burgundy.

All preliminaries having been settled by the commissioners, the marriage of the lady Margaret with Charles duke of Burgundy was finally agreed to by Edward, in a great council held at Kingston upon Thames, October 1, to be celebrated as soon as a dispensation could be obtained from the pope. But that proved more difficult than was expected (owing to the influence of the king of France at the court of Rome), and retarded the marriage more than six months⁵⁴. At the same time, a treaty of peace, or rather a long truce of thirty years, was concluded between Edward and his future brother-in-law⁵⁵. The king, queen, and court, made a progress northward, and celebrated the feast of Christmas at Coventry⁵⁶.

A. D. 1468.
Reconciliation.

While the court remained at Coventry, a kind of reconciliation was made between the queen's relations and the Nevile family, by the interposition of some common friends. The archbishop of York had a meeting with earl Rivers, the queen's father, at Nottingham, in which all preliminaries were settled; and the earl of Warwick attended

⁵⁴ W. Wyrcester, p. 511.

⁵⁵ Rym. Fœd. t. 11. p. 591.

⁵⁶ W. Wyrcester, p. 512.

a great

a great council at Coventry, in January, when he was publicly reconciled to the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley, who had married the queen's sisters. The king was so well pleased with the part the archbishop had acted in this affair, that he restored the two manors he had taken from him⁵⁷. But it is probable this reconciliation was not very cordial; it is certain it was not very lasting.

A. D. 1468.

No king of England had ever taken so much pains to secure the friendship of foreign princes as Edward IV. Besides the long truce with Scotland, he contracted alliances with the kings of Arragon, Castile, and Denmark, and with the two potent dukes of Burgundy and Brittany⁵⁸. In this policy he had these two ends in view—to prevent the house of Lancaster from receiving aid from any of those princes—and to procure their assistance in an attempt he intended to make for the recovery of the English dominions in France. He communicated this intention to a parliament at Westminster, in May, and it met with the hearty approbation of that assembly, which granted no less than two tenths and two fifteenths, to enable him to execute his design⁵⁹. But internal commotions soon diverted all thoughts of foreign conquests.

Intended invasion of France.

All the preliminaries of the marriage of the lady Margaret with the duke of Burgundy being fully settled, she rode through the streets of London behind the earl of Warwick, June 18; embarked at Margate, July 1; arrived next day at Sluis;

Marriage.

⁵⁷ W. Wyrcester, p. 512, 513.

⁵⁸ Rym. Feod. tom. 11. p. 522—606, 631.

⁵⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. 2. p. 332.

A.D. 1469. and was married with great solemnity, at Dam, July 9th.

Trials.

Riding before the lady Margaret in that procession was not the only mark of respect and confidence that Edward conferred on the earl of Warwick about this time. Several gentlemen having been apprehended, and accused of corresponding with queen Margaret, the king granted a commission to his own two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, with the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Northumberland, his brother, to sit in judgment upon them at Guildhall in July. The two earls acted with great zeal in the execution of this commission; and very unjustifiable methods were used to procure evidence against the prisoners; of whom some were condemned and executed⁶⁰. This seems to afford a sufficient proof that Edward did not as yet suspect Warwick or his brother of disaffection.

A.D. 1469.
Duke of
Clarence
married.

George duke of Clarence had long been discontented. He thought himself neglected by the king his brother, and imputed that neglect to the influence of the queen's relations, against whom he entertained the most violent animosity. Their common hatred of the same persons naturally produced an intercourse and communication of councils between Clarence and the earl of Warwick; and this intercourse gradually improved into an intimate union of interests, which was at last cemented by a marriage between the duke and the lady Isabella, the eldest of the earl's two daughters, and

⁶⁰ Stow, p. 421.

⁶¹ W. Wyrcester, p. 515.

one of the heiresses of his great estate. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp, at Calais, July 11, by the archbishop of York ⁶².

A. D. 1469.

In the mean time, a dangerous insurrection of the farmers and common people took place in Yorkshire; occasioned by the officers of the hospital of St. Leonard's at York violently exacting certain quantities of corn, which the farmers refused to pay. Many of our historians insinuate, that this insurrection was raised by the emissaries of the Nevile family; but this is very improbable, as it was certainly opposed by one of the heads of that family. For when the insurgents amounted to 15,000 men, and approached the gates of York, John Nevile, earl of Northumberland, raising a body of his bravest followers, attacked and defeated them, took their leader, called Robin of Redsdale, and beheaded him on the field. The approach of night prevented any pursuit ⁶³.

Insurrection in Yorkshire.

But though the insurgents were defeated, they were not dispersed; and they soon found leaders of greater abilities, and higher rank, than Robin of Redsdale. These were, sir Henry Nevile and sir John Caniers; who, leaving the neighbourhood of York, directed their march southward. As soon as Edward heard of this insurrection, he sent the lord Herbert, lately created earl of Pembroke, and the lord Stafford, created earl of Devon, at the head of a considerable army, to meet and encounter the enemy. When the two earls, with their forces, arrived at Banbury, they quarrelled

Battle of Banbury.

⁶² Hall, Ed. IV, f. 9. Stow, p. 421.

⁶³ Hall, f. 11.

A.D. 1469.

so violently about their lodgings, that the earl of Devon withdrew the troops under his command; and the earl of Pembroke, with his division of the army, consisting chiefly of Welshmen, was defeated by the insurgents at Edgecote in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Banbury, July 26⁶⁴. The victors (as was usual in those times) stained their laurels with much blood which they shed after the battle. The earl of Pembroke, his brother sir Richard Herbert, and ten other gentlemen, were beheaded on the field. Richard earl Rivers, the queen's father, and sir John Widvile, her brother, being taken in the forest of Dean, were carried to Northampton, and put to death on a scaffold, without any trial⁶⁵.

Warwick
in favour
with Ed-
ward.

It was reported (says a contemporary writer), that these things were done by the consent of the earl of Warwick; and this, which was then only a vague report, hath been adopted by many historians as an undoubted truth⁶⁶. There is the clearest evidence, that king Edward himself entertained no such suspicion; for he constituted the earl of Warwick, August 17, chief justiciary of South Wales, and gave him several other offices of power and trust, which had been held by his favourite the late earl of Pembroke; which he certainly would not have done, if he had suspected that Warwick had any connection with rebels who had murdered his own father and brother-in-law⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ Fragment. ad finem Sproti Chron. p. 300. Stow, p. 422.

⁶⁵ Stow, p. 422. Hall, f. 13.

⁶⁶ Fragment. p. 301.

⁶⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 647.

But

But though Edward, at that time, placed great confidence in the attachment of the earl of Warwick, that confidence did not continue much longer. For he granted a commission to John duke of Norfolk, John duke of Suffolk, and Anthony late lord Scales, now earl Rivers, dated at Westminster, 16th November this year, to array all the men capable of bearing arms in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, against the duke of Clarence and other rebels, who had conspired to deliver king Henry ⁶⁸. The immediate cause of this violent rupture between king Edward and his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick, is not certainly known, some assigning one cause, and some another, and none of them very probable. It is only certain, that the royal brothers had long been dissatisfied with each other's conduct; and when they were in that state of mind, a small spark might raise a mighty flame.

A.D. 1469.

Rupture
between
Edward
and his
brother
Clarence.

Henry Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland who was slain in the fatal battle of Towton, had been from that time kept a prisoner in the Tower of London, while John Nevile, brother to the earl of Warwick, enjoyed his title and estate. Edward (it is said) caused secret hints to be conveyed to the friends of the Percy family, to present petitions to him for the restoration of their imprisoned chief to his liberty, and the estates and honours of his ancestors. In consequence of these petitions, young Henry was set at liberty, October 27, and soon after restored to the earldom of Northumberland ⁶⁹. The loss of so much power

Percy family
re-
stored.

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 649.

⁶⁹ Id. ibid. p. 648.

and

A. D. 1469. and wealth at once could not but be very disagreeable to the Nevile family; and this might be one cause of their discovering their disaffection to Edward at this time.

A. D. 1470. But as the season was too far advanced for military operations, conciliating measures were adopted by the court. John Nevile, who had been deprived of the title of earl of Northumberland, was raised to the higher title of marquis of Montague; and his eldest son, George, was created duke of Bedford, January 5, and flattered with the hopes of obtaining the princess Elisabeth, the king's eldest daughter, in marriage⁷⁰. In a word, the reconciliation between the court and the family of the Neviles, in the beginning of this memorable year, was, in appearance at least, so complete, that Edward granted a commission, at Waltham Abbey, March 7, to the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, to array all the men able to bear arms in the county of Worcester, and to conduct them to the army the king was raising against certain rebels⁷¹.

Rebellion. The rebels mentioned in this commission were commanded by sir Robert Wells, eldest son of Richard lord Wells, and other gentlemen of Lincolnshire. They drove sir Robert Burgh, who held a place in the king's household, out of the county, demolished his castle, plundered his estate, and declared for king Henry. This insurrection was probably a part of that plan which the duke

⁷⁰ Dugdale Baron. vol. 1. p. 232.

⁷¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 652.

of Clarence and the earl of Warwick had formed for their own defence, against the indignation of Edward, when he denounced them rebels; and it had broke out before they had an opportunity of acquainting the leaders of it with their reconciliation to the court. Edward sent for Richard lord Wells, with a solemn promise for his safety; and directed him to write to his son, commanding him to lay down his arms. Not trusting to the success of this scheme, he raised an army, with which he marched northward, carrying with him the lord Wells⁷³.

A.D. 1470.

Before Edward set out on this march, he paid a visit to George Nevile archbishop of York, at his house of More-park; and when washing before supper, he received private notice from John Ratcliff, one of his attendants, that 100 men at arms were ready to seize his person⁷⁴. Alarmed at this notice, he went suddenly out of the house, mounted his horse, and rode off full speed to Windsor⁷⁴.

Not only the archbishop of York, but also the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, were enraged at this abrupt retreat of the king, as indicating a rooted distrust, and reflecting highly upon their honour. They immediately dispatched a messenger to sir Robert Wells, entreating him not to lay down his arms, and promising to join

Clarence and Warwick collect their forces.

⁷³ Stow, p. 422. Polyd. Virgil, p. 518. ⁷⁴ Fragment. p. 302.

⁷⁴ This seems to have given rise to that romantic incredible tale related by almost all our historians,—that Edward was at this time taken prisoner by Warwick, and sent to his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire, from which he made his escape, through the too great indulgence of the archbishop of York, his keeper,

him

A. D. 1470.

him with a powerful reinforcement as soon as possible; and in order to perform that promise, the duke and earl set out for Warwick to collect their forces ⁷⁵.

Insurrec-
tion sup-
pressed.

But all their schemes were ruined by the rashness of sir Robert Wells. When Edward with his army reached Stamford, and found that sir Robert was still in arms, and paid no regard to the commands of his father, he was so incensed, that, forgetting his promise, he commanded his father, the lord Wells, to be beheaded. A base and barbarous action! which rendered the son so impatient for revenge, that, without waiting for Warwick, he gave the king battle, was defeated, taken prisoner, and soon after beheaded at Stamford, with sir Thomas Dimmock, and some other leaders of the insurgents. The unhappy sufferers acknowledged, in their last moments, that they had been encouraged to persist in their rebellion by the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, which gave Edward full information of their defection ⁷⁶.

Clarence
and War-
wick re-
volt.

When the duke and earl, who were then at Warwick, heard of the defeat of their friends at Stamford, they marched with the small number of troops they had raised in a few days, into Lancashire (spreading as they proceeded the most inflammatory reports against Edward), in hopes that Thomas lord Stanley, who had married the earl's sister, would join them in their revolt; which he refused to do. They then intended to march into York-

⁷⁵ Clauf. 20 Ed. IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.

⁷⁶ Id. *ibid.* Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 553

shire, where they had many friends. But they were soon informed, that Edward, with his victorious army, was already at York, and had published from thence, March 20, a severe proclamation against the spreaders of false reports⁷⁷. From the same place he published, March 24, a long declaration, acquainting his subjects with the treasonable designs of which his brother Clarence and the earl of Warwick were accused; and that he had summoned them, by a herald, to appear before him, March 28, to answer to these accusations, under the pain of being declared traitors. As they did not appear, they were accordingly proclaimed rebels, at Nottingham, March 31⁷⁸.

A. D. 1470.

Despairing to raise an army in the north, Clarence and Warwick retired, or rather fled, into the west, in order to make their escape to the continent; and Edward pursued them with so much ardour, that he marched from Nottingham to Exeter in fifteen days⁷⁹. The fugitives, having procured a sufficient number of ships, embarked, about the same time, at Dartmouth, with their families and most attached friends, directing their course towards Calais, of which Warwick was governor, and where they intended to take shelter. But there they met with an unexpected repulse from Vaucler, to whom Warwick had given the government of the place in his absence. That ungrateful adventurer pointed his guns against his bene-

Clarence and Warwick refused admittance into Calais.

⁷⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 657.

⁷⁸ Claus. 10 Ed. IV. apud Carte, p. 780.

⁷⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 656.

factor,

A.D. 1470.

factor, and would not permit him, or any of his company, to land; not even the duchess of Clarence, who fell in labour, and was delivered of a son on ship-board. Vaucler, by a confidential messenger, advised Warwick to retire into France, and wait for better times; assuring him, that he had refused him admittance into Calais, because he could not have afforded him protection; but that, when an opportunity offered, he would convince him that he had not forgotten his favours. Whatever were the real intentions of Vaucler, his conduct was so agreeable to Edward and the duke of Burgundy, that the former gave him the government of Calais, and the latter granted him a pension of 1000 crowns a-year; on which he took a solemn oath to be faithful to Edward against all the world⁸⁰.

At the
court of
France.

Warwick, believing, or pretending to believe, Vaucler's professions, took his advice; and having seized a fleet of Flemish ships in his passage, arrived, in May, at Honfleur in Normandy. There he found the bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, who received and treated the illustrious exiles in the most polite and friendly manner. Having provided the best accommodations for the ladies and their attendants, at Valongis, he conducted the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, with Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and John de Vere, earl of Oxford (who had also escaped from England), to the court of France, which was then at Amboise. Lewis XI. who had long dreaded the

⁸⁰ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 188, 189.

intimate

intimate union of king Edward with his two most formidable enemies, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, received them with the greatest joy, and immediately entered on business⁸¹.

A. D. 1470.

When Warwick first formed the design of de-throning Edward, he had no thoughts of restoring Henry VI. but intended to raise his own son-in-law, the duke of Clarence, to the throne. Of this he was accused by Edward, in his long declaration published at York, March 24; and it was generally known and believed in England⁸². But he soon found that this was impracticable, being equally disagreeable to the Yorkists and Lancastrians. He was now therefore under the necessity of adopting the plan proposed by the king of France, which was to restore king Henry; in which he was certain of the assistance of all the friends of the house of Lancaster, of all the discontented Yorkists, and of the French monarch. To engage him more heartily in this design, so contrary to all his former principles and passions, it was proposed, that Edward prince of Wales should marry his youngest daughter, the lady Ann; that he should be regent of the kingdom during the reign of Henry and the minority of Edward; and that if Edward died without issue, Clarence should succeed to the throne⁸³.

Plan for restoring Henry VI.

When all these arrangements were settled, messengers were sent to conduct Margaret of Anjou,

Marriage of Edward prince of Wales.

⁸¹ Contin. Monstrelet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, l. 3. ch. 5. p. 190.

⁸² Claus. 10 Edward IV. apud Carte, vol. 2. p. 780.

⁸³ Contin. Monstrelet, f. 34. Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

queen

A. D. 1470.

queen of England, and her son Edward prince of Wales, from their residence in Lorrain (where they had lived several years in great obscurity), to the court of France. Though no two persons in the world perhaps ever hated each other more heartily than queen Margaret and the earl of Warwick, yet their ambition, their interest, and their need of each other's assistance, engaged them to suppress, or at least to conceal, their hatred on this occasion. Margaret agreed to all the arrangements proposed; the marriage of the prince of Wales and the lady Ann Neville was celebrated to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned; an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between king Henry and the king of France; and every thing agreed upon was confirmed by the most solemn oaths of all parties ²⁴.

Duke of
Clarence
discon-
tented.

The satisfaction, however, discovered on this occasion was not so great as it appeared. The duke of Clarence was secretly discontented; nor was his duchess pleased with the prospect of seeing her younger sister upon a throne, when she was to remain a subject. Edward found means to increase their discontents, by sending over to them a lady who had formerly belonged to the duchess, and had been her bosom friend and confidant. This female politician (whose name is not preserved in history) passed through Calais, and had the dexterity to deceive Vaucler (the most artful man of this age of deceit and artifice); by discovering his secret at-

²⁴ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 191.

tachment

tachment to Warwick, and concealing the design of her own journey. She arrived safe at the court of France, and was admitted, without suspicion, to the duke and duchess of Clarence; to whom she represented the folly and danger of their present conduct in such strong colours, that the duke sent her back to his brother, with assurances, that he would embrace the first opportunity of returning to his allegiance⁸⁵.

A. D. 1470.

King Edward, after the flight of Clarence and Warwick, disbanded his army, and abandoned himself to hunting, feasting, and other sensual indulgences, to which he was much addicted. The duke of Burgundy, who knew what was transacting in the court of France, endeavoured to rouse him from his security, and gave him frequent warnings of an approaching storm. But his love of pleasure, and the strong assurances given him by the archbishop of York and the marquis of Montague, the earl of Warwick's brothers, of their inviolable attachment to him against all the world, prevented his regarding these warnings⁸⁶.

Edward's security.

The king of France having furnished the English exiles with some stout ships, a body of troops, and a considerable sum of money, they embarked at Honfleur, and landed at Dartmouth, September 13, about five months after their departure from the same place. They had kept up a correspondence with their friends in England; and so many of these joined them soon after their landing, that they com-

Clarence and Warwick return to England.

⁸⁵ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 193.

⁸⁶ Id. *ibid*.

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posed a formidable army, with which they advanced towards the capital, dispersing a manifesto, commanding all the subjects who were capable of bearing arms, to join them, in order to dethrone the tyrant Edward (as they called him), and restore king Henry to the throne⁸⁷.

King Edward expelled.

King Edward was in the north, suppressing some commotions, of which we have no distinct account, when he received the news of this landing; at which he rejoiced, or pretended to rejoice; and sent a message to the duke of Burgundy to guard the seas, to prevent the earl of Warwick's escape. But he soon found reason to change his sentiments; or at least his language. He appointed his forces to assemble at Nottingham, and waited in that neighbourhood, expecting a powerful reinforcement under his friend the marquis of Montague, who was then at York. But when that nobleman came within ten miles of Edward's quarters, at the head of 6000 men on whom he could depend, he discovered his design of declaring for king Henry; and that design was so agreeable to his followers (who had formerly been Lancastrians), that they made the air ring with crying, "Long live king Henry!" The news of this unexpected event were communicated to king Edward by one of his minstrels, and confirmed by other messengers. His first thought was, to draw out his forces, and bravely meet his enemies. But lord Hastings soon convinced him, that he could not depend on the fide-

⁸⁷ Stow, p. 422.

lity of his own troops, and that he had no other part to take but to attempt an escape to the continent. In consequence of this advice, the king, with his brother the duke of Gloucester, earl Rivers, and seven or eight other noblemen, and a small body of his most faithful followers, instantly mounted, and rode to Bishop's-Lynne in Norfolk, embarked on board three ships they found in that port, and put to sea, October 3. After a very narrow escape from a fleet belonging to the Hanse towns, then at enmity with the English, he landed near Almar in Friezeland, without as much money in his pocket as could pay his passage²⁸. In this manner, a mighty king was expelled from his dominions, in a few days, without one stroke of a sword, or one drop of blood! But this was the age of sudden, surprising revolutions.

A.D. 1470.

Warwick was on his way into the north with his army, when he received the agreeable tidings of king Edward's flight; on which he immediately marched to London, into which he entered in triumph, October 5. Next day he relieved Henry from his tedious imprisonment in the Tower, proclaimed him lawful king, and conducted him with great pomp through the streets of London to the bishop's palace, where he resided till the 13th, when he went in solemn procession, with the crown on his head, attended by his prelates, nobles, and great men, to St. Paul's, to return thanks to God for his restoration²⁹.

King Henry restored.

²⁸ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 422. Hall, f. 20. Leland Collectanea, vol. 2. p. 533.

²⁹ Stow, p. 422.

A.D. 1470.

Prince Ed-
ward
born.

Queen Elisabeth, dreading what was to happen, had retired privately from the Tower, in the night of October 1, with the young princeſſes, her daughters, and a few faithful friends, and taken shelter in the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter. In this melancholy abode ſhe was delivered of her eldeſt ſon, the unfortunate Edward V. on November 4th.

Effects of
this revo-
lution on
the conti-
nent.

When the report of this great revolution in England reached the continent, it occaſioned the greateſt joy in the court of France, and no leſs dejection in the court of Burgundy. By the king's command, ſolemn proceſſions of all the clergy and principal laity were made for three days, in Paris, and all the great towns of France, to thank God and the Virgin Mary for having reſtored Henry of Lancaſter to the throne of England. The exiled queen and her ſon the prince of Wales, who had lived ſeveral years neglected and almoſt forgotten, were received into Paris with as ſplendid and expensive triumphs as it was poſſible to exhibit⁹¹. On the other hand, Charles duke of Burgundy, though naturally bold, was ſtruck with conſternation, becauſe he was already at war with France, and had now reaſon to apprehend an immediate attack from England. To prevent this, if poſſible, he ſent his confidential ſervant, Philip de Comines, to Vauclair, governor of Calais, who he believed to be his friend. But when Comines arrived at Calais, he found Vauclair and his gariſon wearing the enſigns of the earl of Warwick, and declaring loudly for

⁹⁰ Stow, p. 422.⁹¹ Continuat. Monſtrelet, f. 35.

king Henry, and a war with Burgundy. He found means, however, by the interposition of the English merchants of the staple, whose chief trade was with the great manufacturing towns in Flanders, to prevent an immediate rupture⁹². The duke of Burgundy was also much perplexed about the manner in which he was to behave to the exiled monarch. To abandon him in his distress, he knew would be dishonourable; to assist him openly, would be dangerous. He therefore pursued a middle course, by assisting him in private, and in public rejecting all his applications for assistance⁹³.

A.D. 1470.

The earl of Warwick was now at the head of affairs in England, and took the most likely steps to secure his power. To keep the duke of Clarence steady, he loaded him with favours, giving him a share in the regency of the kingdom, appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and granting him all the estates of the family of York⁹⁴. He took the office of admiral to himself, and appointed his brother, the marquis of Montague, warden of the marches⁹⁵. In a word, he turned all the friends of king Edward out of their offices, and filled them with his own friends⁹⁶. To give a legal sanction to the whole, he summoned a parliament, which did whatever he was pleased to dictate. By this parliament, all attainders against king Henry's friends were repealed, and they were restored to their estates and honours;—king Edward and

A.D. 1471.
Steps
taken by
the earl of
Warwick.

⁹² Philip de Comines, l. 3. c. 6. p. 201—204.

⁹³ Id. *ibid.* p. 205.

⁹⁵ Id. *ibid.* p. 665. 679.

⁹⁴ Rym, Fœd. tom. 11. p. 693.

⁹⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 661—665.

A.D. 1471. all his partisans were attainted, and their estates confiscated;—the crown was settled on Edward prince of Wales, and his issue, and failing them, on the duke of Clarence, and his issue⁹⁷. But even the wisest measures are not always successful.

The queen &c. detained on the continent.

Queen Margaret, her son Edward prince of Wales, with the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and several others who had lived long in exile, ardently desired to return to England, to resume their former stations; but were unfortunately detained on the continent, during all this winter, by contrary winds and storms⁹⁸.

Edward returns to England.

The duke of Burgundy was still in terror of being crushed between the two powerful monarchies of France and England. To prevent this, he encouraged king Edward to make an attempt for the recovery of his crown, and privately assisted him with men, money, and ships⁹⁹. All things being ready, he embarked, with about 2000 men, at the free port of Vere in Zealand; from whence he sailed, March 11, and landed at Ravenspur on the 14th of the same month¹⁰⁰. At his landing he met with a cold reception, and even some opposition, from the country-people, headed by one Westerdale, a priest¹⁰¹. To quiet their minds, and excite their pity, he pretended that he had relinquished all thoughts of claiming the crown, and came only to recover the estates of his family. To convince them of his sincerity in this, he wore an ostrich

⁹⁷ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 334.

⁹⁹ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 206.

¹⁰¹ Stow, p. 423.

⁹⁸ Fabian, an. 1471.

¹⁰⁰ Holingsh. p. 1327.

feather,

feather, the ensign of prince Edward, in his hat, and commanded his followers to cry, king Henry! wherever they came. When he approached York, he found the gates shut against him, and could not obtain admittance till he had taken a solemn oath, before the mayor and aldermen, that he did not intend to claim the crown¹⁰².

A.D. 1471.

The earl of Warwick seems to have had pretty good intelligence of the motions and designs of king Edward when he was in Holland. So early as the 21st of December A. D. 1470, a commission was given to the marquis of Montague to arm all the men in the five northern counties, to repel an invasion expected in those parts; and on the 28th of the same month, a similar commission was granted for all the rest of the kingdom, to the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, and sir John Scroop¹⁰³. In the month of January this year, the earl of Warwick was constituted admiral of England, and, with the duke of Clarence and earl of Pembroke, had a commission to array the men in Wales¹⁰⁴. But we know not distinctly what progress these commissioners had made in the execution of their commissions, when Edward actually landed.

Warwick's preparations,

After king Edward had refreshed his followers a few days at York, he marched out, directing his route southward. No situation could appear more dangerous, or even desperate, than that in which Edward was at this time. The marquis of Mont-

Edward marches, and assumes the name of king.

¹⁰² Holingsh. p. 102.

¹⁰³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 676, 677.

¹⁰⁴ Id. ibid. p. 679, 680.

A.D. 1471.

ague was at Pomfret with an army superior to his, and could easily have stopped his progress. The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, each at the head of a powerful army, were marching from the south to meet and oppose him. But, to the astonishment of all the world, the marquis of Montague permitted him to pass without any interruption. The real cause of this mysterious conduct will never be known with certainty; but, among the various conjectures that have been made concerning it, this seems to be the most probable,—that the duke of Clarence had sent him orders not to fight till he had joined him¹⁰⁵. When Edward reached Nottingham, the lord Stanley, sir Thomas Parre, sir James Harrington, sir Thomas Montgomery, and several other gentlemen, brought him reinforcements¹⁰⁶. Being now at the head of a respectable army, he threw off the mask; and, in direct violation of the solemn oath he had taken a few days before at the high altar in the cathedral of York, he assumed the name of king¹⁰⁷.

Clarence
joins his
brother
king Ed-
ward.

The earls of Warwick and Oxford having united their forces at Coventry, expected every day to be joined by the duke of Clarence and his army, which would have enabled them to put an effectual stop to Edward's further progress. But that prince put them off with promises and excuses. In the mean time Edward, advancing boldly, reached Coventry, March 29, and offered the earls battle; which they declined¹⁰⁸. The duke of Clarence

¹⁰⁵ Stow, p. 423.¹⁰⁶ Holingsh. p. 1329.¹⁰⁷ Hall, f. 26.¹⁰⁸ Holingsh. p. 1329.

was now at hand, and was visited by his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, who came to his camp, with a few attendants, and without any passport. The two brothers flew into each other's embraces; and after a short conversation, Clarence, having prepared the chief men of his army before, declared for his brother Edward; and the two armies, which seemed to be at the point of engaging in a bloody battle, united in the most friendly manner¹⁰⁹. The important secret, which had encouraged Edward to advance in the face of so many dangers, was now discovered; and this great revolution, the cause of one still greater which soon followed, was owing to the intrigues of an artful woman, of whose name we are not informed.

A.D. 1471.

Clarence was not ashamed to send an intimation to his father-in-law, of his defection, and the violation of his most solemn engagements, and to offer his good offices to bring about a peace between him and Edward. This offer was rejected with disdain by the enraged earl, who knew that, after what had happened, no cordial reconciliation ever could take place. Edward then called a council of war, to deliberate whether he should attack the earl of Warwick in his camp, or march directly to London. This last measure was adopted, and carried into execution; and he reached Westminster on Monday, April 9. Though he found the gates shut against him, he had a powerful party in the city, with

King Edward
marches to
London.

¹⁰⁹ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Hall, f. 26. Stow, p. 423.

whom

A.D. 1471.

whom he corresponded and co-operated; and they soon procured his admission, without the use of force. All the sanctuaries in London and Westminster were crowded with his friends, to the number of 2000 persons; among whom were 400 knights and gentlemen, who now exerted all their influence in his favour. Many rich merchants, to whom he owed great sums of money, ardently desired his restoration; and the city-ladies in general were his fond admirers and warmest advocates. He even found means either to corrupt or intimidate the archbishop of York, to whom his brother Warwick had committed the care of the city, and of king Henry's person; and, with the consent of that prelate, he was admitted, on Thursday, April 11, by a postern, into the bishop's palace, where he found his helpless rival; and immediately sent him to the Tower¹¹⁰.

Battle of
Barnet.

As soon as Warwick was joined by his brother the marquis of Montague, he set out on his march after Edward, in hopes of finding and attacking him without the walls of London. But when he arrived at St. Alban's, on Friday, April 12, he received the disagreeable news, that his enemies were in possession of the capital. Determined to fight them even there, he advanced to Barnet on Saturday; and Edward having marched from London on the same day, the two armies encamped so near each other in the evening, that neither of them

¹¹⁰ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 554. Stow, p. 423. Holingth. p. 1331. Philip de Comines, l. 3. c. 7. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 709.

enjoyed

A.D. 1471.

enjoyed much repose during the night. By day-break on Easter-Sunday, April 14, both armies were drawn out, and immediately rushed into action with uncommon fury. This battle, which both parties believed would be decisive, was long, fierce, and bloody, victory seeming sometimes to incline to the one side, and sometimes to the other. At length the earl of Warwick's troops were thrown into disorder, by an unhappy mistake, occasioned by a mist, raised (as it was then believed) by friar Bungy, a reputed magician. The brave earl of Oxford, whose device on his soldiers' coats, both before and behind, was a star with rays, had beat his opponents off the field, and was returning to assist his friends, when his troops were attacked by the earl of Warwick's men, who believed them to be a body of the enemy, whose device was a sun with rays. Oxford, astonished at that attack, and apprehending that some fatal treachery (then so common) had taken place, fled, with 800 of his followers; which threw all into confusion. The earl of Warwick, in order to revive the courage of his troops, rushed into the thickest of the enemy; where he fell, covered with wounds; and his brother the marquis of Montague attempting to relieve him, shared the same fate. Thus perished Richard Neville, the stout earl of Warwick, commonly called *the King-maker*, and with him perished the prosperity of his family, and the power of his party. As soon as his death was known, his army dispersed, and left Edward a complete victory¹¹¹. The duke

¹¹¹ Contin. Hist. Croyl. p. 555. Hall, Ed. IV. f. 29.

of

A.D. 1471.

The queen and prince land in England.

of Exeter was grievously wounded, and left for dead on the field, but afterwards taken up, and conveyed secretly into the sanctuary at Westminster. The duke of Somerset and earl of Oxford fled into Wales, and joined the earl of Pembroke, who was there raising troops.

It will be difficult to find in history such a succession of untoward events as attended the house of Lancaster in this struggle to retain the crown of England. Queen Margaret and prince Edward, whose presence would have been a great encouragement to their partisans, had been detained all the winter on the continent; and after they embarked, March 4, they were tossed about in the channel no less than three weeks, and did not land at Weymouth till the evening of that fatal day on which the battle of Barnet had been fought¹¹². The queen, who knew not what had lately happened in England, imagined she had nothing now to do, but to march in triumph to the capital, and take possession of her former dignity. How great was her consternation then, when she received the dismal tidings of the defeat at Barnet, the death of Warwick and his brother, the captivity of her husband, and the dispersion of all her friends! On this occasion, all her fortitude forsook her; she sunk to the ground, and fainted away; from which state she was not without great difficulty recovered. When she revived, yielding to despair, she fled with her son to a sanctuary in the abbey of Beau-

¹¹² Holingsh. p. 1331. 1336.

lieu¹¹³. Her first design was, to make her escape, with her son and friends, to France. But, in a day or two, seeing herself furrounded by the duke of Somerset, the earls of Oxford and Devonshire, the lord Wenlock, the lord John Beaufort, and many knights and gentlemen, her spirits and her hopes revived, and she consented to stay and make another attempt; but pleaded earnestly to be allowed to send away the prince, to which they would not agree. The queen, the prince, and princess of Wales, with a few attendants, were escorted to Bath, and the noblemen and gentlemen separated to collect their forces; which they did with so much success, that in about ten days they brought together an army (it is said) of 40,000 men. With this army they proposed to march into Wales, to join the earl of Pembroke, and from thence into Cheshire, to strengthen it with a body of archers; which would have made it very formidable¹¹⁴.

A. D. 1272

But king Edward was too active to allow them time to execute this plan. He set out from London, April 19, and proceeded westward by slow marches, to give his forces from different parts an opportunity of joining him by the way. Arriving at Tewksbury, May 3, he found the enemy encamped on the banks of the Severn, near that place. Next morning he took a view of the intrenchments they had made about their camp in the preceding night, and determined to attack them immediately.

Battle of
Tewksbury.¹¹³ Hall, f. 30.¹¹⁴ Holingsh. p. 336.

They

A. D. 1471.

They sustained the first attack with great bravery; but the duke of Somerset, with the front line, having rashly ventured without the intrenchments, were beat back with great slaughter; the enemy entered the camp with them, and threw all into confusion. The earl of Devonshire, lord Wenlock, lord John Beaufort, with a considerable number of knights and esquires, and about 3000 common soldiers of the queen's army, were killed. The queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of Somerset, the lord St. John, with many knights and gentlemen, were taken prisoners. The queen, who had caused and suffered so many calamities, was committed to the Tower: where she endured a long and comfortless confinement. The prince of Wales, having been brought into the king's presence, and asked by him, with a stern countenance, how he had dared to come into his kingdom in arms, boldly replied, "I came to recover my father's kingdom." Edward was so much irritated by this reply, that he had the baseness to smite the prince on the face with his gauntlet; and his attendants instantly dispatched the helpless victim with many wounds. Whether the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester imbrued their hands in the blood of this unhappy prince, as some historians affirm, is uncertain; but there seems to be no doubt that they were present at that horrid scene, and afforded him no protection. On Monday, May 6, the duke of Somerset, the lord St. John, and fourteen knights and gentlemen, were beheaded at Tewksbury; and many others,

others, soon after, shared the same fate in other places¹¹⁵.

This was the twelfth battle that had been fought in the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster; and in these battles, and on the scaffold, above sixty princes of the royal family, above one half of the nobles and principal gentlemen, and above one hundred thousand of the common people of England, lost their lives¹¹⁶. The battle of Tewksbury was the most decisive, and (if we except a few short commotions) secured the peaceable possession of the crown, during the reign of Edward IV. to the house of York, by the almost total extinction of the rival house of Lancaster.

A.D. 1471.
Battle of
Tewksbury
decisive.

King Edward entered London in triumph, May 21, and next morning Henry VI. was found dead in the Tower. The manner of his death must for ever remain a secret, though it seems to have been the general opinion at the time, that it was violent. "I think it prudent (writes a contemporary historian) to say nothing of the death of Henry VI. May God grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who laid his sacrilegious hands on the Lord's anointed¹¹⁷!" The historians of the next age, who were not under the same restraint, make no scruple to name the duke of Gloucester as the author, if not the perpetrator, of this act of cruelty¹¹⁸. While his son, the prince of

Death of
Henry VI.

¹¹⁵ Hall, f. 32. Stow, p. 424. Holingsh. p. 1340, 1341.

¹¹⁶ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 52. 185, 186.

¹¹⁷ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 556.

¹¹⁸ Stow, p. 424. Hall, f. 33.

A.D. 1471.

Wales, lived, the life or death of Henry was of little consequence, but after the death of that prince the case was changed.

Edward
rewards
his friends
and pun-
ishes his
enemies.

King Edward spent the summer of this year, in bestowing rewards and honours on his friends, and in punishing his enemies with death, imprisonment, or heavy fines¹¹⁹. A few of these last saved themselves by flying into foreign countries. The earl of Oxford made his escape into France. The earl of Pembroke, with his nephew Henry Tudor, the young earl of Richmond (the only remaining hope of the house of Lancaster), embarked at Tynby, intending to pursue the same course; but were driven, by contrary winds, into Brittany, where they were hospitably entertained, but at the same time carefully guarded, by duke Francis II. who was in alliance with king Edward, against their common enemy the king of France¹²⁰. Edward, having created his infant son of the same name prince of Wales, summoned a great council of prelates, peers, and a few knights, who met at Westminster, July 3, and took a solemn oath to maintain the succession of the young prince to the crown of England. Richard duke of Gloucester was the second temporal peer who took this oath¹²¹. To gain the affections of the clergy, he pardoned several bishops who had been engaged against him in the late contest¹²². To give a legal sanction to the whole, he summoned a parliament, which met October 6, and attainted the persons, and confis-

¹¹⁹ Stow, p. 424. ¹²⁰ Hall, f. 33. Stow, p. 425. Holingh.
p. 2345. ¹²¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 714. ¹²² Id. ibid. p. 715.

cated the estates, of as many of his enemies as he pleased¹²³. A.D. 1471.

The last memorable and very active year was succeeded by a calm of several years duration, which happily afford few materials for that part of history which is the subject of this chapter. This calm was hardly disturbed by a feeble attempt of the earl of Oxford. That unfortunate nobleman having returned into England with a few followers, surprised St. Michael's-Mount in Cornwall, and defended it for some time with great bravery; but was obliged to capitulate, February 15, and was imprisoned in the castle of Hammes, near Calais, where he remained no less than twelve years. His great estate was confiscated; and his countess, sister to the late earl of Warwick, reduced to the necessity of earning a scanty subsistence by her needle¹²⁴. Though Edward had granted a full pardon to George Nevile, archbishop of York, he now commanded him to be apprehended, accused him of having corresponded with the earl of Oxford, sent him prisoner to the castle of Guines, and seized all his effects and revenues¹²⁵. A.D. 1472,
and
A.D. 1473.
A calm.

Though Edward enjoyed great prosperity at this time, it was not unmixed with some disquiets. A violent animosity took place between his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, which gave him much uneasiness. Gloucester proposed to marry the lady Ann Nevile, relict of the late prince of Wales, and one of the co-heiresses of Edward's
disquiets.

¹²³ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 557.

¹²⁴ Stow, p. 436. Hall, f. 35. ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

A.D. 1472, and
A.D. 1473. the immense estates of the late earl of Warwick. Clarence, who had married her elder sister, determined, if possible, to prevent that marriage, in order to retain the whole succession. With this view he secreted the lady so carefully, that for several months she could not be found. At length, however, she was discovered in London, in the dress of a cook-maid, and placed in the sanctuary of St. Martin's. The two dukes pleaded their own case before the king in council with much warmth and acrimony; and it was not without great difficulty that a seeming reconciliation was brought about, by allotting certain estates to Gloucester on his marriage with the lady Ann, and allowing Clarence to retain the greatest part of the disputed succession¹²⁶. Edward's mind was also haunted with continual fears of the earl of Richmond, on whom he knew all the secret friends of the house of Lancaster had fixed their eyes; and he made the most tempting offers to the duke of Brittany to prevail upon him to deliver that helpless victim into his hands. But these offers were all rejected¹²⁷.

A.D. 1473.
Treaties,
&c.

Edward, in this interval of tranquillity, employed himself in securing allies and amassing treasures. He settled all his disputes with the Hanse towns, which were then very powerful—confirmed the long truce with Scotland—renewed his alliances with the kings of Portugal and Denmark—and entered into stricter connections with the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany¹²⁸. From his parliament, in both

¹²⁶ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 556.
f. 35.

¹²⁷ Stow, p. 426. Hall,

¹²⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. xi. p. 732—791.

these

these years, he obtained very large supplies; and got still greater sums of money in another way, which is thus described by a contemporary historian: "A new method of raising money was introduced at this time, called a *benevolence* or *free gift*, by which every one gave the king what he pleased, or, to speak more properly, what he did not please. By this means greater sums of money were collected than had ever been seen before, or will ever be seen hereafter¹¹⁹." This monk did not possess the gift of prophecy.

A.D. 1473.

Internal peace had not been long restored in England, when the people began to cast their eyes towards the continent, and to think of recovering the losses, and wiping off the disgraces they had there sustained in the preceding reign. Edward hated Lewis XI. for the assistance he had already given, and feared him for that he might still give, to the house of Lancaster; and knowing the animosity of his subjects against the French, he resolved upon an expedition into France. The occasion was most inviting, and seemed to promise certain success. The two powerful dukes of Burgundy and Britanny were open enemies to Lewis; the constable of France, and several of the greatest lords of that kingdom, were secretly disaffected; and all these earnestly solicited Edward to come over with an army, and promised him their assistance. He spent this year, and the beginning of the next, in making preparations for that expedition.

A.D. 1474.

Edward prepares for an expedition into France.

¹¹⁹ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 340—343. Continuat. Hist. Croyl.

A. D. 1474.

He negotiated treaties with the emperor, and Ferdinand king of Sicily, to procure the assistance of these princes against France—prolonged the truce with Scotland to A. D. 1515—concluded a marriage between the prince of Scotland, and his then youngest daughter, the princess Cecilia—settled, by five different treaties with the duke of Burgundy, all particulars respecting the conquest and partition of France—and provided troops, arms, ammunition, ships, and every thing necessary¹³⁰.

A. D. 1475.

Edward
demands
the crown
of France.

At length, his preparations being completed, Edward embarked at Sandwich, about the end of June or beginning of July, and soon after landed at Calais, attended by one of the finest armies that had ever passed from Britain to the continent. He immediately dispatched a herald, to defy the king of France, and demand the surrender of his crown and kingdom. That prince was now in the most imminent danger, from which nothing could have delivered him, but the infatuation of his enemies, and his own admirable policy. Instead of returning an irritating answer to the proud defiance he had received, he took the herald into his closet, and, in a familiar conversation, told him, that he had the highest respect for the king of England, who, he knew, had been induced to undertake that expedition by the duke of Burgundy and the constable of France, who would certainly abandon him as soon as their own purposes were answered. He gave him, with his own hand, 300 crowns, and

¹³⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 804—843.

promised

A.D. 1375.

promised him 1000 more, if he contributed to bring about a peace. The herald (who was a native of Normandy) gained by the condescension and liberality of so great a king, promised to promote his views to the utmost of his power; and advised him to address all his messages on the subject of peace to the lords Howard and Stanley, who had great influence with Edward, and were not fond of the present expedition. The king then committed the herald to the care of Philip de Comines, with a charge to send him away as soon and as well pleased as possible¹¹.

Edward disappointed,

When Edward landed at Calais, he expected to be joined by the duke of Burgundy at the head of a powerful army. But that impetuous, imprudent prince had almost ruined his army, by an unsuccessful expedition into Germany, and came to the English camp, attended only by a slender retinue. To pacify Edward, who was greatly chagrined at this disappointment, he assured him, that the earl of St. Pol, constable of France, would surrender to him the strong town of St. Quintin. But when the English army approached that place, the constable (who had spent his whole life in deceiving all the world; friends as well as enemies) fired upon them from the ramparts, and killed a considerable number of them by a sally. The duke of Burgundy, who was still in the English army, being neither able to account for this conduct of the constable, nor to bear the bitter reproaches of the king of England,

¹¹ Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 5.

A. D. 1475

departed abruptly, and left that prince in a violent rage against his allies, and almost sick of his expedition¹³³.

Truce
with
France.

Edward was in this temper of mind, when his herald returned, with the report of the pacific dispositions of the king of France. This report was very agreeable to many of the English nobility, and not displeasing to the king; and the artful Lewis employed several methods to increase their desire of peace, and their dissatisfaction with their allies¹³⁴. In a word, Edward held a council in his camp, near Peronne, August 13, in which it was resolved to negotiate a truce with the French king, for these three reasons: “—the poverty of the army—the near approach of winter—and the small assistance of his allies;” and a commission was given to the lord Howard, with three others, to manage that negotiation¹³⁵. These plenipotentiaries met with no difficulties; and a truce, for seven years, was concluded, in the English camp, near Amiens, August 29, on their own terms; which were these—that the king of France shall pay to the king of England 75,000 crowns, within fifteen days—that he shall pay him also 50,000 crowns a-year in London, during their joint lives—that the dauphin of France shall marry the princess Elizabeth of England—and that Edward shall return with his whole army into his own country, as soon as he hath received the 75,000 crowns. In this truce, all the

¹³³ Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 6.¹³³ See Villar, tom. 18.¹³⁵ Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 7.¹³⁴ Rym. Foed. tom. 12.

p. 24.

allies

allies of both kings who chose to accede to it were comprehended¹³⁵. Lewis at the same time agreed to pay to Edward 50,000 crowns, as the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, queen dowager of England; in consequence of which, that unhappy princess was set at liberty, and returned to her family and native country¹³⁶. A.D. 1475.

Every thing being thus amicably adjusted between the two kings, they had a personal interview on the bridge over the Somme, at Pequini, August 29. At this interview, both Edward and Lewis swore to the observation of the treaties, with each one hand on the gospels, and the other on a piece of the true cross; after which they conversed together for some time in the most friendly and familiar manner¹³⁷. Interview at Pequini.

Lewis XI. in the course of these negotiations, not only corrupted the English plenipotentiaries, but all the other English ministers, by his caresses, bribes, and pensions. Nor was there so much as one amongst them who had the spirit or virtue to reject his offers. Besides what he gave them in money, plate, and other presents, the pensions he settled upon them amounted to 16,000 crowns a-year¹³⁸. To keep the English army in good humour, he sent them a present of 300 cart-loads of wine, and entertained all the English who visited Amiens, where he resided, in the most hospitable manner¹³⁹. Lewis corrupts the English ministers.

¹³⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 25—27.

¹³⁷ Philip de Comines, l. 4. ch. 10.

¹³⁹ Id. ibid. p. 279.

¹³⁶ Id. ibid.

¹³⁸ Id. ibid. p. 287.

A. D. 1475.

Edward
returns to
England.

But though Lewis did every thing in his power to please the English while they remained in France, there was nothing he so ardently desired as their departure. To forward this, he instantly paid the money stipulated by the treaty; and Edward having received it, embarked with his army at Calais, and arrived in England, September 28th. Thus ended an expedition, which had been the result of many negotiations, of long, expensive preparations, and threatened Lewis XI. with the loss of his crown, and dismemberment of his kingdom, without having made, or so much as attempted to make, the smallest conquest. In this manner, Lewis, by his cool and prudent conduct, with his perfect knowledge of the passions and foibles of his antagonists, dissolved one of the most formidable confederacies that was ever formed against France, without shedding one drop of blood; and at the same time gained so great an influence in the councils of his enemies, that they were never able to give him the least disturbance. While he was, by a long train of curious contrivances, conducting the several members of this confederacy to the point to which he wished to bring them, he made them the subjects of his ridicule among his confidants; but carefully abstained from such discourse in mixed company¹⁴⁰.

The Eng-
lish dis-
contented.

Though king Edward, who was now become excessively fond of pleasure, ease, and money, and was proud of the match he had made for his eldest

¹⁴⁰ Stow, p. 428.¹⁴¹ Comines, tom. 1. p. 303.

daughter,

daughter, and his ministers, who had been bribed and pensioned by the king of France, were pleased with the conclusion of this expedition; the people of England in general, and many martial adventurers in particular, were discontented. But their murmurs were not much regarded ¹⁴³.

A.D. 1475.

Edward, after his return from France, indulged his passions, and spent much of his time in feasting, gallantry, and the fashionable amusements of the times. His avarice, which daily increased, prompted him to employ a great variety of methods, some of them very oppressive, and others of them very unsuitable to the dignity of his station, to fill his coffers ¹⁴⁴. But though he plundered his subjects himself with very little ceremony, he was remarkably severe in punishing private plunderers and robbers, who were very numerous after the army was disbanded ¹⁴⁵. To keep Edward in this line of life, and prevent his interfering in the affairs of the continent, the king of France was punctual in the payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year stipulated by the late treaty, and no less punctual in the payment of their pensions to Edward's ministers ¹⁴⁶.

A.D. 1476.

Edward indulges his passions.

Though Edward was so much devoted to his pleasures, he was not perfectly easy in his mind. Henry earl of Richmond was still alive, and out of his reach, and might one day dispute the throne with him or his posterity. He resolved therefore to make an attempt to get him into his hands. With this view he sent an embassy to the duke of

Edward attempts to get the earl of Richmond into his hands.

¹⁴³ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 559.¹⁴⁴ Id. *ibid.*¹⁴⁶ Id. *ibid.*¹⁴⁵ Rym. Ford, tom. 12. p. 30. 45.

Britanny,

A.D. 1476.

Britanny, to renew the treaties of alliance, and to prevail upon that prince to give up the earl of Richmond, and his uncle the earl of Pembroke. The ambassadors, it is said, were furnished with a large sum of money, and instructed to assure the duke, that Edward intended to marry the earl of Richmond to one of his own daughters, and thereby to put an end to the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster. The treaties of alliance were renewed, and the duke was at length prevailed upon to deliver the two earls to the ambassadors, to be conducted into England. But before they embarked at St. Maloes, the duke, beginning to doubt the sincerity of Edward's promises, sent his favourite, Peter Landois, who recovered the two earls out of the hands of the ambassadors, and placed them in a sanctuary. But, to give the king of England all possible satisfaction, the duke engaged to guard the two earls with so much care, that they should never give him any trouble¹⁴⁶. What Edward's real intentions were cannot be certainly known; though all our historians, without hesitation, pronounce them to have been of the most criminal and sanguinary nature.

A.D. 1477.
Deaths.

The duke of Burgundy, and the earl of St. Pol, constable of France, Edward's two principal allies in the late confederacy against Lewis, did not long survive the dissolution of that confederacy. The constable paid the forfeit of all his dark intrigues,

¹⁴⁶ Rym. Feod. tom. 12. p. 37. Hall, f. 43, 49. Holingsh. p. 4349. Stow, p. 429.

by

by being beheaded at Paris, 19th December A. D. 1475; and the duke of Burgundy, after losing two battles against the Swiss, lost his life in a third against the duke of Lorraine, 5th January A. D. 1477¹⁴⁷. This brave, but rash imprudent prince, left his only daughter, Maria of Burgundy, heiress of his dominions and of his misfortunes, which were both very great.

A. D. 1477-

Edward still continued to be exceedingly suspicious, and punished the slightest appearances of disaffection to his person and government with great severity. Two gentlemen, Thomas Burdet, of Arrow in Warwickshire, and John Stacy, a learned clergyman, fell victims to this cruel suspicious spirit. In the course of this year, the former of these was tried, condemned, and executed as a traitor, for an angry expression, which at present would be a subject of laughter, rather than of punishment; the latter was tried and put to death for the imaginary crime of necromancy.¹⁴⁸

Executions.

But this spirit soon produced a more tragical scene, and hurried on king Edward to an unnatural act of cruelty, which in the end proved fatal to his own family. No cordial friendship had ever subsisted between the duke of Clarence and the queen's relations, who, by their influence with the king, produced a coolness between him and Clarence, which gradually increased into a most rancorous animosity, by unfriendly offices on the one side, and too strong expressions of resentment on

Clarence discontented.

¹⁴⁷ Comines, l. 4. c. 12. l. 5. c. 1. 4. 2.¹⁴⁸ Stow, p. 430. Hist. Croyl. p. 561.

the

A.D. 1477.

the other. The duke had become a widower, by the death of his duchess Isabella, 22d December A. D. 1476; and Charles duke of Burgundy being killed in less than a fortnight after, his only daughter became the greatest heiress in the world. Clarence, who wanted not ambition, naturally turned his eyes towards this rich succession, and applied to his sister Margaret duchess-dowager of Burgundy, to promote his views. That princess, who loved him better than any of her other two brothers, warmly espoused his cause, and every thing wore a promising aspect. But Edward, who ought to have promoted this scheme with all his power, from policy as well as from natural affection to his brother, opposed it, and caused his queen's brother, Anthony Widville, earl Rivers, to be proposed as a proper husband to the young heiress; who was rejected with disdain. This cruel injury sunk deep into the heart of Clarence, who seldom afterwards appeared at court, or in council; and when he did appear, was sullen, silent, and visibly discontented. The execution of Burdet and Stacy, who were his friends, and owed their death to their attachment to him, overcame his patience, and threw him off his guard. He went the day after to the council-chamber at Westminster, attended by W. Goddard, a celebrated divine, who had assisted the sufferers in their last moments, and gave in copies of the private and public declarations they had made of their innocence, and then withdrew ¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁹ Hist. Croyl. p. 562..

Edward,

Edward, who wanted only a handle to wreak his vengeance on his unhappy brother, greedily laid hold on this, called a council of peers and prelates, to which he invited the mayor and aldermen of London, and, before them, loaded Clarence with many accusations, magnifying every indiscretion into a crime, and representing his last action as no less than high treason. The duke, with the consent of the council, was committed to the Tower, and on January 16, was tried for treason by his peers in parliament. The accusations brought against him were either grossly absurd or very trifling¹⁵⁰. The heaviest articles were,—That he had caused his servants to report, that the king was a necromancer,—and that Burdet was unjustly executed. This trial was managed in a very uncommon and indecent manner. The king was the only pleader against the prisoner; and the duke was the only person who dared to answer such a pleader. The witnesses too (as we are told by a contemporary historian, who was probably present) appeared more like prosecutors than witnesses¹⁵¹. Clarence was condemned, and a sentence of death pronounced upon him, by Henry duke of Buckingham, who was high steward on that occasion. That one of the houses of parliament might have no cause to reproach the other with all the guilt, or to claim all the honour of this transaction, the commons were prevailed upon to appear at the bar of the house of peers, some time after, and demanded the execution of this sentence. It was

A. D. 1478.

Clarence
condemned
and executed.

¹⁵⁰ See Stow, p. 431, 432. ¹⁵¹ Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 562.

accord-

A. D. 1478.

accordingly executed privately in the Tower, March 11; but by whom, or in what manner, the contemporary historian who gives the fullest account of this matter doth not say, and probably did not know¹⁵². Fabian, who was then a young man, tells us, "he was drowned in a barrel of malve-
" seya¹⁵³."

Edward's
conduct.

Several of Clarence's estates were granted by Edward to the queen's brother, Anthony earl Rivers, on this hypocritical pretence, that as he had done the earl great injuries, it would be an advantage to his soul after death, that the earl got his estates¹⁵⁴. The king became more and more luxurious and expensive, and at the same time more oppressive and rapacious¹⁵⁵. Delighted with the regular payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year by the king of France, which enabled him to pursue his pleasures; flattered with the prospect of a marriage between the dauphin and his eldest daughter; and influenced by the advice of his pensioned ministers; he permitted Lewis to attempt the ruin of the house of Burgundy without interruption.

A. D. 1479.

Pestilence.

Though England enjoyed peace at this time, the people were far from being happy. A destructive pestilence raged at London and in other places during the greatest part of this year¹⁵⁶. Edward, sunk in sloth and luxury, permitted himself to be amused with treaties and promises by the artful, perfidious Lewis, which that prince intended either to keep or violate as he found convenient. It is

¹⁵² Continuat. Hist. Croyl. p. 562.¹⁵³ Fabian, an. 1478.¹⁵⁴ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 95.¹⁵⁵ Hist. Croyl. p. 562.¹⁵⁶ Stow, p. 431.

a sufficient proof of this, that though he now agreed, by a very solemn treaty, that he and his heirs should pay 50,000 crowns a-year to Edward during his life, and to his heirs for 100 years after his death, he withdrew that payment as soon as he could do it with safety ¹⁵⁷.

A. D. 1475.

It was one of the peculiarities in the character of Edward IV. that he engaged in treaties for the marriages of all his children almost as soon as they were born. But of all these marriages, he had none so much at heart as that of his eldest daughter, Elisabeth, with the dauphin, which had been agreed upon in the treaty of Amiens, A. D. 1475 ¹⁵⁸. By one of the articles of that treaty, Lewis engaged to conduct the young princess into France, at his own expence, and to put her in possession of 60,000 livres a-year; but as he never intended the marriage should take effect, he was in no haste to perform this article. Edward at length became impatient and suspicious, and sent the lord Howard, in May this year, to the court of France, to demand the immediate execution of the above article. But Lewis being no longer under a necessity of dissembling, refused to comply with that demand, and threatened to withdraw the payment of the 50,000 crowns a-year, stipulated by the same treaty.

A. D. 1480.
Breach between Edward and the king of France.

Edward now began to open his eyes, and to perceive that he had been deluded by the deceitful Lewis. Enraged at this, he renewed, with Mary duchess of Burgundy, and her husband, Maximilian

Alliance with Burgundy.

¹⁵⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 104.

¹⁵⁸ Id. ibid. p. 19.

lian

A. D. 1480.

lian duke of Austria (to whom she had been married, A. D. 1477), the alliance which had been made between him and the late duke Charles; and engaged to send them an aid of 6000 archers, if Lewis did not agree to a truce or peace, under his mediation. Maximilian and Mary, on their part, agreed to pay him the 50,000 crowns a-year, which had formerly been paid by France, if he engaged in a war with that crown on their account ¹⁵⁹. Following the bent of his genius, he at the same time contracted a marriage between his daughter Ann, a child about four years of age, and Philip, son of Maximilian and Mary, an infant in his cradle; which, like all his other contracts of that kind, came to nothing ¹⁶⁰.

Breach
with Scot-
land.

When Edward meditated a war against France, he resolved to prevent all interruption from Scotland, by assisting the discontented nobles of that kingdom, and embroiling it in a civil war. With this view, he appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester his lieutenant, and sent orders to the lords, knights, and gentlemen of the northern counties, to array all the men who were fit for war in those counties ¹⁶¹. Nothing, however, happened this year, but a few mutual incursions of little consequence, and an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Berwick.

A. D. 1481.
War with
Scotland.

King Edward made great preparations, in the spring of this year, for invading Scotland, both by

¹⁵⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 123—128.

¹⁶⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 128—135.

¹⁶¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 115—119.

sea and land ¹⁶². King James was no less active in preparing for a war with England, in which he was heartily supported by his subjects, who seem to have been much exasperated against the English, and particularly against the king. This appears from the acts of a parliament held at Edinburgh, in April, in which the most vigorous measures were adopted for resisting the riever (robber) Edward, as he is constantly called in these acts ¹⁶³. In consequence of this spirit, the people crowded from all parts to the royal standard; and an army of 40,000 men (it is said) assembled at Edinburgh, in August, and from thence marched towards England ¹⁶⁴. Edward was so much alarmed at the approach of this formidable army, that he resolved to stand on the defensive; and that all men might be at leisure to take arms, he commanded all the courts to be shut, and put a stop to all proceedings at law till Michaelmas ¹⁶⁵. But after all these preparations on both sides, no action of great importance happened in the course of this year.

A.D. 1481.

Alexander duke of Albany, brother to the king of Scotland, having escaped out of the castle of Edinburgh, in which he had been imprisoned, was at this time in the court of England, and concluded a treaty of alliance with Edward, June 10. In this treaty Alexander called himself king of Scots, engaged to do homage to Edward for his crown, and to deliver the town and castle of Berwick to England; and Edward engaged to assist him with

A.D. 1482.
Peace with
Scotland.

¹⁶² Rymer. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139. 1. ¹⁶³ Black acts, fol. 65, 66.

¹⁶⁴ Pitcoltus History of Scotland, edit. 1728, p. 77.

¹⁶⁵ Rymer. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 141.

A. D. 1482.

an army to obtain the crown ¹⁶⁶. In consequence of this treaty, the dukes of Albany and Gloucester entered Scotland with a gallant army of 25,000 men, took the town, but not the castle, of Berwick, and then marched to Edinburgh, into which they were received without any opposition ¹⁶⁷. Scotland was at this time in a most distracted state. The king, at variance with his chief nobility, was imprisoned, or had shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, and all government was almost dissolved. In this extremity, a number of the nobility met at Haddington, and sent proposals for a peace to the two dukes at Edinburgh; and, after a short negotiation, a peace was concluded, August 2 ¹⁶⁸. Two days after, the provost and community of Edinburgh granted a bond to repay all that part of the marriage-portion of the princess Cecilia, contracted to the prince of Scotland, which had been paid, provided the king of England declared that it was his pleasure the contract should be dissolved ¹⁶⁹. Peace being thus concluded, the duke of Gloucester, who seems to have acted with great moderation, returned with his army into England, and took the castle of Berwick in his way. This expedition cost Edward £100,000, a great sum in those times; but the nation was so well pleased with the recovery of Berwick, that the next parliament thanked the duke of Gloucester for his good conduct, and confirmed several valuable

¹⁶⁶ Rym. Fed. tom. 12. p. 156.¹⁶⁷ Hist. Croyl. p. 562.¹⁶⁸ Rym. Fed. tom. 12. p. 162.¹⁶⁹ Id. ibid.

grants

grants that had been made to him by the king, his brother ¹⁷⁰.

~~A. D. 1483.~~
Death of Edward IV.

Edward, being at last convinced of the perfidy of the king of France, by receiving the news, that the dauphin, who had been contracted to his daughter Elisabeth, A. D. 1477, was actually betrothed to Margaret, the infant daughter of Maximilian duke of Burgundy, at Paris, 4th January this year, that the contract was confirmed by the parliament of Paris, and celebrated with great rejoicings in that city, was enraged beyond measure, and breathed nothing but revenge ¹⁷¹. To execute this revenge, he prepared with great ardour for an expedition into France; and, to prevent interruption from Scotland, he concluded a new treaty of alliance with the duke of Albany, who had again revolted ¹⁷². But an enemy against whom there is no defence soon put a period to all his projects. He died at Westminster, April 9, in the 41st year of his age, and the 23d of his reign; but of what disease is not certainly known ¹⁷³. A contemporary writer says, that he was not affected with any particular disease, and seems to ascribe his unexpected death to the anguish of his mind, and the bad habit of his body, brought on by his excesses ¹⁷⁴.

A. D. 1483.
Death of Edward IV.

Edward had by his queen three sons and seven daughters, of whom one son and two daughters

His issue.

¹⁷⁰ Hist. Croyl. p. 563.

¹⁷¹ Monstrelet, tom. 4. f. 71. Philip de Comines, l. 6. c. 9.

¹⁷² Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 173.

¹⁷³ Hist. Croyl. p. 564. Stow, p. 433.

¹⁷⁴ Hist. Croyl. p. 563, 564.

A. D. 1483.

died before him; and two sons and five daughters survived him, viz. Edward, his eldest son and successor, born in the sanctuary at Westminster, November 4, A. D. 1470;—Richard duke of York;—Elisabeth, who was contracted to the dauphin, and afterwards married to Henry VII.—Cecilia, contracted to James prince of Scotland, and married to John viscount Wells;—Anne, contracted to Philip of Burgundy, and married to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk;—Bridget, who became a nun at Dertford;—and Catharine, contracted to the infante of Spain, and married to William Courtenay earl of Devonshire. Though he had many mistresses, he had not many natural children. He left a son by Elisabeth Lucie, named Arthur, who, having married Elisabeth's heiress to her brother John lord Lisle, was raised to that title by Henry VIII.; and a daughter, named Elisabeth, who was married to Thomas lord Lumley ¹⁷⁵.

Clarence's
issue.

The unhappy duke of Clarence left also two children by his duchess Isabel, viz. Edward earl of Warwick, who fell an innocent victim to the cruel jealousy of Henry VII. A. D. 1499;—and Margaret, of whom we shall hear in the progress of this work ¹⁷⁶.

Character
of Edward
IV.

Edward IV. was much admired, in his youth, for the beauty of his face and the handsomeness of his person; but before his death he became corpulent and bloated, by his intemperance ¹⁷⁷. His address was easy, engaging, and familiar, which gained him the hearts of many, and the money of

¹⁷⁵ Dugdale, vol. 2. p. 312. 176.

¹⁷⁶ Id. *ibid.* p. 165.

¹⁷⁷ Philip de Comines, tom. I. p. 197.

not

not a few, particularly of the fair sex¹⁷⁸. He never forgot the name or face of any person with whom he had once conversed; and he is even said to have known the characters and circumstances of every nobleman or gentleman of any consequence in his dominions¹⁷⁹. His great success in war (having gained nine pitched battles, in which he was present, and fought on foot; and never lost one) may be admitted as a sufficient proof of his military skill and courage, as well as of his good fortune. In a word, if his virtues had been equal to his endowments, he would have been both a great and good king. But that was not the case. His piety is indeed celebrated by the monk of Croyland; but it did not prevent him from violating his most solemn oaths, when he was prompted to it by passion, or the prospect of advantage¹⁸⁰. He was guilty of many acts of cruelty; and the unnatural murder of his brother Clarence must fix an indelible stain upon his character. Whenever he enjoyed peace, he abandoned himself to pleasure and the gratification of his appetites. On his passion for women he laid no restraint; and his imprudent and criminal indulgence of it plunged him into much distress and guilt, produced almost all the disorders of his reign, and all the calamities that befel his friends and family. The indulgence of vicious passions is as pernicious to princes as to private persons.

A.D. 1483.

¹⁷⁸ Hall, f. 37.¹⁷⁹ Hist. Croyl. p. 564.¹⁸⁰ Id. *ibid*.

SECTION V.

*From the accession of Edward V. A. D. 1483, to
the accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485.*

A. D. 1483.

Edward V.
proclaim-
ed.

EDWARD prince of Wales, the eldest son of Edward IV. was proclaimed king in London, April 9 (the day on which his father died), by the name of Edward V¹. He was then only in the thirteenth year of his age; but his title was so clear, that it was not imagined any dispute could possibly arise about his possession of the throne; though many dreaded that very violent disputes would arise about the administration of the government during his minority.

State of
parties.

The court of England at this time was divided into two parties. One of these parties consisted of the queen and her relations, with such as attached themselves to them in order to obtain preferment; the other was composed of certain noblemen, who, by their long and faithful services, had gained the confidence of the late king, and had been thereby supported in their places, without any dependence upon or connection with the queen's relations. The chiefs of this last party were,—the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, with the lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley. While Edward IV. lived, his authority checked the passions of both these parties, and kept them within

¹ Sir Tho. More, apud Kennet, vol. 1. p. 481,

decent

decent bounds. He was not, however, ignorant of their secret animosity; and therefore, in his last sickness, he brought about a reconciliation between them, which, like almost all court-reconciliations, was neither sincere nor permanent ².

A. D. 1483.

The great object which each of these parties had in view was, to get and keep possession of the person of the young king, that they might possess his power. At the time of his father's death, he resided at Ludlow castle, under the care of his uncle Anthony earl Rivers, who was his governor, attended by lord Richard Grey, his uterine brother, sir Thomas Vaughan, his chamberlain, and others of the same party ³. The queen and her friends proposed in council to raise a small army to escort the king to London, in order to his coronation; but this measure was strenuously opposed by the other party, who saw its tendency; and particularly by the lord chamberlain Hastings, who threatened to leave the court. The queen, unwilling to raise any disturbance in the beginning of her son's reign, agreed to limit the number of his attendants to 2000 ⁴. That the queen aspired to the regency, was suspected, and is not improbable; but cannot, I think, be proved: but that she wished, and hoped, that she and her relations would have as much power in the present as they had in the preceding reign, and that her enemies were determined to prevent this, if possible, is abundantly evident.

Dispute in council.

² Hall, Ed. IV. f. 60.

³ Sir T. More, p. 481.

⁴ Hist. Croyl. p. 564, 565.

A.D. 1483.

Conduct
of the
duke of
Gloucester.

The duke of Gloucester was in the north of England, preparing for a second expedition into Scotland; when he received intelligence of the king's brother's death. He immediately hastened to York, attended by 600 of his friends, besides his usual retinue, all dressed in mourning. There he celebrated the late king's funeral, proclaimed his son Edward V. took an oath of fealty to that young prince, and enjoined the magistrates, nobility, and gentlemen of those parts, to take similar oaths. From thence, too, he wrote letters to the queen, and to her brother the earl Rivers, full of the warmest professions of friendship to them, and of loyalty to the king. What his real intentions were when he made these professions, I shall not so much as conjecture.

Gloucester's
views.

That the lord Hastings sent intelligence to the duke of Gloucester of the transactions in council, and the designs of the queen and her party at court, together with offers of his assistance to raise him to the regency, cannot be doubted. For though that lord had been most sincerely attached to Edward IV. (from whom he had received the honourable and lucrative offices of governor of Calais and chamberlain of England), and was no less sincerely attached to his son Edward V.; yet there was nothing he dreaded so much as to see the administration in the hands of the queen and her relations, by whom he knew he was hated. Gloucester at the same time received similar assurances from Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, the most

^s Hist. Croyl. p. 565.

power.

powerful nobleman then in England, who promised to join him immediately, at the head of his numerous vassals ⁶. Having received these assurances, and knowing that the noblemen, gentlemen, and people of the north of England were warmly engaged in his interest, he certainly determined to intercept the young king in his way to London, to take him out of the hands of his mother's relations, and thereby secure to himself the administration during his minority; but whether his views extended any further at this time or not, it seems to be impossible to discover.

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To execute his designs, whatever they were, the duke of Gloucester departed from York, with a numerous retinue, and arrived, April 29, at Northampton, where he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, with 900 of his followers⁷. The king, being then on his way to London, lodged that night at Stony-Stratford, only ten miles from Northampton; and the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, and some others, entertaining no suspicion of any ill design against them, waited on the two dukes, to concert measures about the king's journey, and approaching coronation. They were received by them with the greatest appearances of cordiality, and they spent the evening together in convivial mirth and pleasantries. But next morning, the earl Rivers, the lord Richard Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse, were made prisoners, and sent to the castle of Pomfret

The earl Rivers and others imprisoned.

⁶ Hist. Croyl. p. 565. Sir T. More, p. 452. col. 2.

⁷ Hist. Croyl. p. 565.

A. D. 1483. in Yorkshire⁹. All the king's other attendants and servants were dismissed, and a proclamation published, forbidding them to come near the court, under the pain of death⁹.

Gloucester comforts the king.

This tumultuous seizure of his nearest relations, and arbitrary dismissal of all his friends and servants, struck the young king with grief and terror, and made him burst out into complaints and tears. When the duke of Gloucester came into his presence, he fell upon his knees, made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection to his person; assured him, that what had been done was for his preservation; and, in a word, he said and did every thing in his power to dry up the tears and dispel the terrors of the helpless, unhappy prince¹⁰.

The queen takes sanctuary.

When the report of these unexpected events reached London, it occasioned great confusion, both at court and in the city. The queen, almost distracted with grief and terror, hastened, with her son the duke of York, and her five daughters, into the sanctuary at Westminster, where she had formerly found protection in her distress. The partisans of the different parties, in great crowds, and some of them in arms, had meetings and consultations; those of the queen's party in Westminster, and those of the duke of Gloucester's party, with the lord Hastings, in the city¹¹. In these consultations, no fixed resolutions could be formed, as the real intentions of those who had the king in their possession were unknown.

⁹ Hist. Croyl. p. 565.

⁹ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁰ Id. *ibid*. Sir T. More, p. 484.

¹¹ Sir T. More, p. 484. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

The

The lord Hastings, who (though an enemy to the queen and her relations) was heartily attached to the young king, and only meant to raise the duke of Gloucester to the regency, sent a messenger, at midnight, May 1, to Thomas of Rotherham, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, to acquaint him with what had happened at Stony-Stratford, and to assure him, that the intentions of the lords who had seized the king were honourable, and for the good of the nation; and that all would end well. That prelate, alarmed at what he heard, immediately arose; and, taking the great seal with him, and attended by his servants in arms, hastened to the queen. He found that unhappy princess in the sanctuary, sitting on the floor, surrounded by her weeping children, herself bathed in tears, and bewailing the approaching destruction of herself and family. The good prelate laboured to dispel her terrors and revive her hopes, by telling her the comfortable message he had received from the lord Hastings. But the very name of Hastings, whose hatred to her and her family she well knew, increased both her fears and griefs. The archbishop, finding her apprehensions and sorrows were too great to be removed by words, gave her the strongest assurances of his own inviolable attachment; and, leaving the great seal with her as a pledge of his sincerity, retired. He soon became sensible of the error he had committed in leaving the seal; and, sending for it by a proper messenger, it was returned¹².

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Archbi-
shop visits
the queen.¹² Sir T. More, p. 421.

The

A. D. 1483.

The king
conducted
to Lon-
don.

The duke of Gloucester and his partisans, having spent a day or two at Stony-Stratford, disposing of their prisoners, and forming their new arrangements, conducted the king to London; into which they entered, May 4, the duke riding bare-headed before his nephew, and calling to the people, "Behold your king." The young monarch was lodged in the bishop's palace; where, it is said, the duke renewed his oath of fealty, in which he was followed by all the prelates and nobles present, together with the mayor and aldermen of London¹³.

Duke of
Gloucester
protector.

Two or three days after, a great council was assembled, consisting of all the prelates, nobles, and great men about London; and by this council, the duke of Gloucester was unanimously chosen protector of the king and kingdom. By this council, too, after some deliberation, it was agreed, that the king should be lodged in the tower of London, the place from which the kings, in those times, commonly rode in state to Westminster, on the day before their coronation¹⁴.

Popularity
of Glou-
cester.

The duke of Gloucester doth not seem to have been unpopular, but rather the contrary, at this period. If he had not been virtuous, he had been decent in his deportment, and avoided those excesses into which the king his brother had fallen. His wisdom was such, that, in the midst of a court torn by the most violent factions, he was not obnoxious to either party; and though he stood well with the ancient nobility, he had no quarrels with

¹³ Sir T. More, p. 486. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

¹⁴ Id. *ibid*.

the

the queen and her relations. He had adhered steadily to the late king in all his fortunes, and made the strongest professions of loyalty and affection to his son.—In a word, if he had died at this time, or if he had never aspired higher than the protectorship, he would probably have been handed down to posterity with the character of a brave and wise prince.

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After the duke of Gloucester was invested with the protectorship, he proceeded with great seeming alacrity in preparing for the coronation of the young king, which was appointed to be at Westminster, June 22. To render that ceremony the more august and splendid, he required, by proclamation, May 20, all gentlemen who had £40 a-year in land, to come to London by June 18, to receive the honour of knighthood; and by particular letters, dated June 5, he invited fifty young noblemen and gentlemen, of the best families, to appear before the king in the tower of London, four days before his coronation, to receive the noble order of knighthood, probably meaning the order of the Bath¹⁵. These measures were either indications that he really had an intention, so late as June 5, to crown his nephew on June 22, or they were designed to persuade the world that he had such an intention; but which of these was the case, I shall not determine.

Proclamations.

In the mean time, the council frequently met, sometimes at one place, and sometimes at another,

Lord Hastings beheaded.

¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 181. 185.

to

A. D. 1483.

to consult about the coronation, and other affairs. On Friday, June 13, one part of the council met at Westminster, to notify in form to the mayor and aldermen of London the day of the coronation; and the other part of it met with the protector in the Tower. As this part of the council was deliberating on business, the door of the room was suddenly opened, and a party of armed men rushed in, crying, treason! treason! One of them wounded the lord Stanley on the head with a pole-axe; and they instantly seized that lord, with the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and lord Hastings. The uproar was great, and the astonishment of the prisoners inexpressible, especially of lord Hastings, when he heard the protector (with whom he believed he stood in the highest favour) pronounce him a traitor, and command him to be immediately put to death. This cruel command was executed with equal cruelty; and having allowed him only a few moments to confess to a priest, they beheaded him on a log of wood, which lay accidentally in the court of the Tower. The lord Stanley and the two prelates were imprisoned in different apartments of that fortress¹⁶. What prompted the protector to imbrue his hands in the blood of a nobleman who had lately done him the most essential services, and with whom he had, to that moment, lived on the most friendly footing, I shall by and by inquire.

¹⁶ Hist. Croyl. p. 566. Sir T. More, p. 494. Sir Thomas relates several other circumstances of this strange transaction; but many of them are frivolous, and others of them highly improbable.

On the same day (June 13), a still more bloody tragedy was acted at Pomfret in Yorkshire. Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a great confident of the protector, had, by his orders, collected an army of about 5000 men, in the north, and was conducting them towards London. When he arrived at Pomfret, he beheaded, without any trial, and with some circumstances of peculiar cruelty, Anthony earl Rivers, the king's uncle, and the most accomplished nobleman of that age—the lord Richard Grey, the king's uterine brother—sir Thomas Vaughan, who had been chamberlain to the king when prince of Wales—and sir Richard Hawse¹⁷. That Ratcliffe perpetrated these horrid deeds in consequence of orders from the protector, cannot be doubted.

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Executions at Pomfret.

The protector, who still continued to wear the mask of loyalty to the king, held a council on Monday, June 16¹⁸. At this council it was suggested, that it would be highly indecent to see the duke of York in sanctuary among murderers, thieves, and robbers, at the time of his brother's coronation; and a deputation was appointed to wait upon the queen, and persuade her to permit the duke of York to leave the sanctuary. Cardinal Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury, was put at the head of this deputation (much, it is said, against his will), and prevailed upon the queen, who cer-

The duke of York in the Tower.

¹⁷ Hist. Croyl. p. 567. Sir T. More, p. 496.

¹⁸ The historian of Croyland is the only contemporary writer who gives a date to this transaction; and I have followed him, though I have some suspicion that he hath placed it a little too late. Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

tainly

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tainly had not then heard of the cruel fate of her son and brother at Pomfret, to put the young prince into his hands, who conducted him to the Tower, and delivered him to the protector¹⁹. A contemporary historian says, that the queen resigned her son to the archbishop willingly; but subsequent historians affirm (on what authority I know not), that it was with extreme reluctance, and only to prevent his being torn from her by force.

End of
the reign
of Ed-
ward V.

The last act of royal authority that we know of that was performed by the unfortunate Edward V. or rather by the protector in his name, was giving commissions to three persons to provide oxen and sheep for the use of the household for six months, dated June 17²⁰. This was certainly the last day of the reign, if a reign it can be called, of that unhappy prince. On that day a new and surprising scene began to be exhibited, to which we must now attend.

When the
protector
formed
his plot.

It seems to be impossible to discover at what time Richard duke of Gloucester formed the plan of supplanting his nephew, and placing himself on the throne. If he had formed that plan before he took the oath of fealty to the young king, and engaged others to take it, he was guilty of great impiety: but as the fact cannot be proved, he cannot be fairly convicted of that crime. If we could rely on the following relation of some of our historians, we should be led to think, that this design had been entertained much earlier than is commonly imagined.

¹⁹ Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

²⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 137.

One Mistlebroke, say they, came to the house of one Pottier, a servant of the duke of Gloucester, in the night, and told him, that king Edward was dead; then said Pottier, my master will be king²¹. That so obscure a person as Pottier should be in possession of such an important secret, is not very probable. One historian asserts, that Richard, in the reign of Edward IV. consulted the most famous lawyers in England about the grounds on which he afterwards claimed the crown; and another affirms, that he had even expostulated with Edward himself on that subject²². But what credit is due to these assertions, I shall not determine. At any rate, a plan for dethroning a young prince, who had succeeded his father with universal approbation, could not be formed and brought to maturity in a day, or even in a few days. It certainly required a considerable space of time to communicate this plan to a sufficient number of persons, and to gain their consent to its execution. That this plan was privately communicated to Buckingham, Howard, Ratcliffe, Catesby, the mayor of London, and many others, and their assent obtained, is very certain; and that lord Hastings was put to death for refusing his assent, is asserted by almost all our historians. But how much time all this required cannot be ascertained.

The story that was now divulged, and propagated by the protector and his friends, on which he

The protector's claim to the crown.

²¹ Hall, f. 4. Ed. V. Sir T. More, p. 482.

²² Id. *ibid.* Buck's Hist. Richard III. p. 585.

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founded his own claim to the crown, and the exclusion of his nephew, was this: that the late king Edward IV. before he married the lady Grey, had been contracted, and even privately married, to lady Eleanor Butler, widow of the lord Butler of Sudley; and that, in consequence of this pre-contract, or prior marriage, his subsequent marriage was illegal, and all his children by the queen were bastards²³. Whether this strange tale, true or false, was known before it was now published, or, if it was known, to what degree of notoriety it had attained, cannot be now discovered. Many reasons might be given to induce us to believe, that it had never been heard of till it was produced on this occasion. If the earl of Warwick or the duke of Clarence had been acquainted with it, when they were inflamed with the most violent hatred against the queen and her relations, and against the king on their account, would they not have published it to the world? Would it not have covered all their enemies with confusion, if they had made it known that the king and queen were living in adultery, and attempting to impose a spurious issue upon the nation? This would have effectually established the right of the duke of Clarence to the succession; and is it to be imagined, that a prince who had attempted to defame his own mother, in order to bastardise his brother (for which he was attainted by parliament), would have spared the queen, his mortal enemy, if he had known or suspected that

²³ Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

her

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her marriage was liable to the least objection? The queen had been crowned with great solemnity, provided for by parliament as queen of England, acknowledged by all the world as Edward's lawful wife to his death, and their children contracted to the greatest princes in Europe, without the least surmise of any flaw in their birth. The nature of Edward's engagement with lady Butler is not well defined; nor is the truth of it well established. A contemporary author, of the best credit, only says, "It was alleged that he had made a contract with her²⁴." Another contemporary writer indeed relates, "That the bishop of Bath said, that Edward had promised marriage to her in his presence, and that he had afterwards married them without any witnesses²⁵." But neither the time nor the place of this pretended marriage were ever mentioned; the lady was dead; no witnesses had been present at it: and therefore it could not be proved, but by the single testimony of Stillington, bishop of Bath, who was a very wicked, ambitious man, and was tempted (as we are told by Philip de Comines) to make this declaration by the pompous promises of the protector²⁶. That Edward had deluded the lady Butler by oaths and promises, and that Stillington, then a profligate young priest, was in the secret, and assisted in the delusion, might be true; but that he had contracted any engagements with her that rendered his subsequent marriage illegal, and all his children bastards, there is not suf-

²⁴ Hist. Croyl. p. 567.
p. 435.

²⁵ Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18.

²⁶ Id. l. 6. c. 9. p. 497.

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Schemes
of the duke
of Glou-
cester.

ficient evidence. The protector got rid of the claims of Edward earl of Warwick and his sister, the children of his elder brother Clarence, by the attainder of their father.

This whole affair seems to have been a scene of great iniquity, in which the protector was the principal actor, assisted by many great accomplices. Having observed that the greatest part of the ancient nobility both feared and hated the queen and her relations, and dreaded that when the young king came of age, his mother would instigate him to revenge the murder of her son and brother, by whom he had been educated, and the many cruel injuries that had been done to her and her family; he believed it would not be difficult to persuade them to raise him to the throne, as they had raised him to the protectorship, as the only effectual way of securing themselves from danger. He made the trial; and, with the help of liberal promises, he generally succeeded. But some pretence was wanting to set aside the numerous issue of the late king; and no pretence would answer that purpose but that of their being bastards. The gallantries of Edward, and the profusion of his promises and oaths to several ladies, in order to seduce them, were not unknown. Stillington, who had been imprisoned by the late king, and was one of Richard's most zealous partisans, furnished them with one story; and if that had not been furnished, another would have been found²⁷. It plainly appears, that the pro-

²⁷ Philip de Comines, vol. 1. p. 497.

rector himself did not lay much stress on this story : for in the act of parliament bastardising Edward's issue, many other objections are made to his marriage, all of them trifling, and some of them perfectly ridiculous ; and the tale of lady Butler is brought in at the end, without any name of its author, or evidence of its truth²⁸.

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The protector's scheme being now ripe for execution, he prevailed upon Dr. Ralph Shaw, a celebrated preacher, brother to the mayor of London, to publish his claim to the crown, in a sermon at Paul's-cross, on Sunday June 22²⁹. The doctor, it is said, overacted his part, and did not content himself with bastardising king Edward's children, but asserted, that Edward himself and the duke of Clarence had been bastards, at the expence of the character of Cecily duchess of York, the protector's mother³⁰. But that he carried his folly and impudence to this length, especially as the protector was present, may be doubted³¹. It is still more incredible, that (as some of our historians affirm) he called the lady to whom he alleged king Edward had been precontracted, lady Elisabeth Lucy, instead of lady Eleanor Butler³². Fabian, who resided then in London, and was perhaps pre-

Shaw's sermon.

²⁸ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 389. One of their objections to the marriage is, that king Edward had been bewitched by the lady Grey's mother ; and this the parliament gravely undertake to prove.

²⁹ Fabian, f. 224.

³⁰ Sir T. More, p. 497.

³¹ See the honourable Mr. Walpole's excellent work, intitled, " Historic Doubts," which hath thrown much light on this perplexed part of our history, p. 37, &c.

³² Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 41.

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sent at this famous sermon, says, "It was to the
 " great abucion of all the audience, except such as
 " favoured the mater, which were few in number,
 " if the truth or plainness might have been
 " shewed³³."

Buckingham's
 speech at
 Guildhall.

The duke of Buckingham made an eloquent harangue on the same subject, June 24, to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, from the hustings in Guildhall, endeavouring to convince them that king Edward's children were bastards, and that the protector was the only person who had a right to the crown. All admired his eloquence, though many, it is said, were not convinced by his arguments; but some of the audience having tossed up their caps, and cried, Long live king Richard! the duke interpreted that cry as the unanimous voice of the citizens of London, acknowledging the protector's title to the crown. He returned them his most hearty thanks, accompanied with promises of many favours and much felicity in the future reign; and then desired the mayor, aldermen, and chief citizens, to meet him next day, to petition the protector to take upon him the crown, expressing great apprehensions that his excessive modesty, and wonderful affection to his brother's children, would make him reject their petition³⁴.

The crown
 offered to
 the protector.

Accordingly, on Wednesday, June 25, the duke of Buckingham, and several noblemen, with the mayor and aldermen, went to Baynard's castle, where the protector then was, and requested an audience on a matter of great importance. The

³³ Fabian, f. 224.

³⁴ Sir T. More, p. 498.

protector

A.D. 1483.

protector at first seemed to be much alarmed at so great a concourse, and to dread some design against his person, but was at length prevailed upon to take courage, and to give them audience. When they came into his presence, the duke of Buckingham, having requested and obtained leave to speak, made a long harangue on the miseries and tyranny of the late reign, the illegality of Edward's marriage, the illegitimacy of his children, the protector's undoubted title to the crown; and concluded with an earnest request to him, in the name of that assembly, to take that crown to which he was so well intitled. The protector appeared to be surpris'd at this proposal. He acknowledged the truth of all the duke had advanced, but declared, that his love to his brother's children was greater than his love to a crown. The duke, returning to the charge, assured him that none of Edward's children should ever reign over them; and at last dropt a hint; that if he persisted in refusing the crown, they would offer it to another, who would not refuse it. The protector seemed to be startled at that hint, began to hesitate, desired a little time to consider, and gave them cause to hope that he would yield to reason and importunity³⁵.

The last scene of this political farce, or rather tragedy, was acted on Thursday, June 26. In the morning of that day, all the prelates, lords, and great men of the protector's party, with their numerous followers, came to Baynard's castle, "and
" (to use his own words) porrected to him a bill

The protector accepts the crown.

³⁵ Sir T. More, p. 498.

A.D. 1483. “ of petition, wherein his sure and true title was
 “ evidently shewed and declared. Where upon
 “ the kinge’s highnis (so he now called himself),
 “ notably assisted by wel nere al the lords spiritual
 “ and temporall of this royalme, went the same
 “ day unto the palais at Westminster, and ther, in
 “ such roial honourable apparrelled, within the
 “ gret hal ther toke possession, and declared his
 “ mind, that the same day he wold begin to reyne
 “ upon his people; and from thence rode solempnly
 “ to the cathedral-church of London, and was re-
 “ ceived ther with procession with gret congratula-
 “ tion and acclamation of al the people in every
 “ place³⁶.”

Assisted
by an
armed
force.

Richard III. (as he must now be called) in making his way to the throne, had not trusted entirely to the clearness of his title, the number of his noble friends, or the favour of the people. He had brought a considerable body of armed followers with him to London; his chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, had brought a still greater number, and had sent for many more from Wales; and an army of about 5000 men had arrived from the north. All these (as we are told by a contemporary historian) constituted “ a terrible and unheard-of number of armed men³⁷.” These troops, it is said, did not make a very gay appearance, and

³⁶ This is a part of that account of his accession to the throne that Richard III. sent to the garrison at Calais, to persuade them to take an oath of fealty to him, which they refused, because they had taken an oath to Edward V. The whole account is very pompous, and in several particulars not strictly true. Buck, apud Kennet, p. 522. Note.

³⁷ Hist. Croyl. p. 566.

were

were laughed at by the citizens of London, for their shabby dress and rusty armour³⁸. But these forces were certainly very formidable, especially as they were commanded by sir Richard Ratcliffe, who had given many proofs, and one very lately at Pomfret, that he was capable of perpetrating the most horrid and atrocious deeds. It would be great injustice, therefore, to deny these troops their share of the honour or infamy of this revolution.

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Richard III. was proclaimed by that name in London, June 27, and on the same day delivered the great seal to the bishop of Lincoln, one of the spiritual lords who had contributed to his elevation³⁹.

Coronation.

As the ceremony of coronation was considered in those times as almost essential to royalty, Richard made great haste to be crowned; and the preparations that had been made for the coronation of his nephew, enabled him to be sooner ready. It appears from his coronation-roll, which is still extant, that various robes were ordered, on that occasion; for lord Edward, son of the late king Edward IV. and his attendants; which makes it probable that it was once intended that he should walk at his uncle's coronation⁴⁰. But it is highly probable that on second thoughts the design was laid aside. So wise a man as Richard would soon reflect, that the sight of the helpless degraded prince would excite compassion for him, and indignation against his oppressor, in every feeling heart. So singular a circumstance, as a degraded king walk-

³⁸ Fabian, f. 225.³⁹ Rym. Foed. t. 12. p. 189.⁴⁰ Historic Doubts, p. 65, 66.

ing

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ing at the coronation of his successor, who had degraded him, would have been the subject of much conversation, and would certainly have been recorded; and yet neither Fabian, nor the historian of Croyland, who flourished at that time, nor any subsequent historian, mention such a circumstance. On the contrary, Fabian tells us, that as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "the prince, or " of right, king Edward V. with his brother the " duke of York, were put under surer keepyng " in the Towre, in such wyse that they never " came abrode after."⁴¹ A few days before the coronation, John lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk, and appointed high steward⁴². About the same time he conferred honours and offices on several of his most active friends; and the archbishop of York, and lord Stanley, having complied with the times, were set at liberty⁴³. At length, all things being ready, Richard, with his consort Ann Nevile, youngest daughter of the great earl of Warwick, were crowned, at Westminster, July 6, with the usual solemnities⁴⁴.

First acts
of Rich-
ard III.

The treasures amassed by Edward IV. for his intended expedition into France, were seized by Richard, and gained him many friends, or at least accomplices, by enabling him to reward them⁴⁵. Nor was he a niggard in the distribution of his bounty. In particular, he amply rewarded his northern forces, and sent them home contented⁴⁶.

⁴¹ Fabian, f. 225.⁴² Rym. Fœd. t. 12. p. 191.⁴³ Buck, p. 525.⁴⁴ Id. ibid.⁴⁵ Hist. Croyl. p. 567.⁴⁶ Hall, Richard III. f. 2.

He

He sent ambassadors to several foreign princes to announce his accession and cultivate their friendship⁴⁷. To his envoy to the court of Brittany, he gives authority—"to negotiate any business he thought proper, even though it was of such a nature as to require a special mandate,"—which plainly points at a secret negotiation about the earl of Richmond, probably with a view to get him into his hands⁴⁸. At the same time, he treated the countess of Richmond with great respect, and appointed her husband, the lord Stanley, steward of the household. His chief accomplice, the duke of Buckingham, he loaded with estates and honours⁴⁹. In a word, he neglected nothing to content his friends, to gain or to guard against his enemies.

Having settled all affairs in London, and set a guard about the sanctuary at Westminster, to prevent the escape of the queen or her daughters, he set out on a progress with his queen and son, and a splendid court⁵⁰. In this progress he spent some days at Oxford; and at the request of the university he released the bishop of Ely from his confinement in the Tower, and committed him to the custody of the duke of Buckingham, which produced effects equally surprising and unexpected⁵¹. At Gloucester, Coventry, and all other places, Richard courted popularity by every art, and

⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 193, 194, 195, 198, 199, &c.

⁴⁸ Id. ibid. p. 194.

⁴⁹ See a list of these in Kennet, vol. 1. p. 530. note n.

⁵⁰ Hist. Croyl. p. 567.

⁵¹ Sir T. More, p. 500. Buck, p. 525.

laboured

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laboured to raise expectations of a mild and equitable reign. The duke of Buckingham left the court at Gloucester in the most perfect good humour, and went to his castle of Brecknock, to which he had before sent his prisoner the bishop of Ely.

Story of
the murder
of the two
princes.

When Richard was at Gloucester in the course of this progress, he sent, it is said, one of his pages to sir Robert Brakinbury, constable of the Tower of London, with a letter or message, commanding him to murder the two young princes, Edward V. and his brother Richard duke of York. Sir Robert declining that detestable office, sir James Tyrrel, master of the horse, was sent from the court at Warwick, with a commission to command in the Tower one night, and in that night the two young princes were suffocated in their beds, by two ruffians called Miles Forrest and John Dighton, and buried at the stair-foot, from whence their bodies were removed by the chaplain of the Tower, to a place that was never discovered⁵². This strange story was first told by sir Thomas More, as one of the various tales he had heard concerning the death of the two princes; and though it is very improbable, if not evidently false in some particulars, it hath been adopted by many subsequent historians⁵³.

Richard
crowned
at York.

About the end of August the court arrived at York, to which the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the north, came in crowds. Richard, in order

⁵² Sir T. More, p. 500, 501.

⁵³ See Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 51—59.

to please them and secure their favour, resolved to entertain them with a coronation. Accordingly he and his queen were crowned in the cathedral-church of that northern capital, by archbishop Rotherham, September 8, and on the same day he created his only legitimate son Edward, then about eight years of age, prince of Wales⁵⁴. The duke of Albany, and the ambassador of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon, assisted at this coronation, which was uncommonly magnificent⁵⁵.

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But Richard's tranquillity was of short duration: clouds began to gather in several places, and to threaten him with a dreadful storm. As soon as he departed from London, on his progress into the north, the people of Kent, Essex, Suffex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and other southern counties, no longer overawed by the northern and Welsh armies, began to murmur at the late transactions. The gentlemen of these counties had private meetings, and formed associations for releasing Edward V. from the Tower, and restoring him to the throne⁵⁶. Richard had still a more dangerous enemy who was secretly plotting his destruction. This was his chief accomplice, Henry duke of Buckingham, who had been the great instrument of his elevation. It is impossible to discover the motives that determined Buckingham to pull down the person he had so lately

Plots
against
Richard ;⁵⁴ Hist. Croyl. p. 567. G. Buck, p. 527.⁵⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 200.⁵⁶ Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

raised.

A. D. 1483. raised⁵⁷. It is most probable that his perfect knowledge of his own and of Richard's character was his principal motive. It is impossible that any real friendship or confidence could subsist between two men who had plotted together the death of lord Rivers, lord Hastings, lord Grey, and others, when they were professing the greatest friendship for them. Buckingham might very naturally fear that Richard would take an opportunity of treating him as he had treated these noblemen, in order to get possession of his immense wealth; and that his prisoner John Morton, bishop of Ely, the most artful man in the world, might, by his hints and insinuations, increase those fears. However this may be, it is perfectly certain that Buckingham, soon after his arrival at his castle of Brecknock, formed the design of dethroning Richard, and corresponded with the malcontents in the south and west of England about the execution of that design⁵⁸.

in favour
of Henry
earl of
Rich-
mond.

None of the two jejune historians of those times say, that the duke of Buckingham had originally the same views with the other malcontents, of restoring Edward V. though that is not improbable⁵⁹. But, in August, a report was circulated, and generally believed, that the two young princes were murdered in the Tower. This obliged all the conspirators to look out for a proper person to substitute in the place of Richard⁶⁰. In more

⁵⁷ Several historians say, it was because he refused to grant him the whole earldom of Hereford. But there is the clearest evidence that he granted him the whole. Dugdale, vol. 1. p. 168, 169.

⁵⁸ Hist. Croyl. p. 568. ⁵⁹ Id. ibid. Fabian. ⁶⁰ Hist. Croyl.

orderly

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orderly and peaceful times, it would never have been imagined, that Henry earl of Richmond had any pretensions to the crown. He was descended by his mother from one of the natural sons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, by Katharine Swineford. It is true, that when the duke married that lady, he procured the legitimation, by parliament, of the children he had by her in the time of his former marriage; but in the very act of legitimation there is an exception of the crown and royal dignity, of which they are declared incapable. Besides this, there were several princes and princesses, both in Spain and Portugal, legitimate descendants of John of Gaunt, by his second wife Constantia heiress of Castile; but they were too far distant, and do not seem to have entertained any thoughts of asserting their claims to the crown of England. There were also several princes and princesses of the house of York, whose titles were still better. But the earl of Richmond possessed some advantages, which recommended him to the conspirators, as the most proper person to set up in opposition to Richard. He was in the prime of life, and had long been considered by the Lancastrian party in England as the representative of that family; and it was proposed to supply the defect in his title by his marriage with the princess Elisabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and thereby unite the two roses, and put an end to that fatal quarrel which had almost ruined England. The queen, and the countess of Richmond, Henry's mother, entered warmly into that scheme, which makes it probable that the queen believed her two sons were dead.

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dead. Messengers were sent to the court of Brittany, to acquaint Henry with this scheme (of his consent to which no doubt was entertained), and to entreat him to come into England as soon as possible, with all the force he could collect ⁶¹.

Richard's
prepara-
tions.

Though these transactions were conducted with all possible secrecy, they did not escape the vigilance of Richard. Soon after his coronation at York, he was informed, that plots were forming against him in the south; and, immediately suspecting the duke of Buckingham, he endeavoured, first by promises, and afterwards by threats, to bring him to court. But both were ineffectual. He then exerted himself, with great activity, to raise forces in the north, and other parts, to oppose his enemies ⁶². Being joined by the earl of Northumberland, and other great men, with their followers, he directed his march towards Wales; having sent orders before, to sir Thomas Vaughan and his other friends in those parts, to watch the motions of the duke of Buckingham, to break down the bridges on the Severn, promising them the plunder of the castle of Brecknock, for their encouragement ⁶³.

Buckingham's
insurrection.

The conspirators, by concert, set up their standards all in one day, October 18, in several different places, to distract their enemies—the duke of Buckingham at Brecknock—the marquis of Dorset, sir Edward Courtenay, &c. at Exeter—sir John Brown, sir Thomas Lawknor, &c. at Maid-

⁶¹ Hall, f. 12—14. Holingsh. p. 1400.

⁶² Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

⁶³ Id. *ibid*.

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stone—sir William Norris, sir William Berkeley, &c. at Newbury—and sir Richard Widvile, sir Richard Beauchamp, &c. at Salisbury. The king, on October 19, was at Grafton in Northamptonshire, ready to march into Wales, or into the west, as occasion might require⁶⁴. The duke of Buckingham directed his march towards the Severn, in order to pass that river, and join his confederates; and if that junction had been effected, Richard would probably have been dethroned. But such heavy rains fell for several days, that the Severn overflowed its banks, and deluged the country, to a degree that never had been known, and was long remembered by the name of *Buckingham's flood*. His Welsh troops were so much discouraged by this, that they disbanded, and returned home; which obliged him to dismiss all his servants, disguise his person, and conceal himself in the house of one Bannister, a dependent on his family, not far from Shrewsbury⁶⁵.

The news of this surprising turn of affairs were brought to Richard at Leicester, and he immediately (October 23) issued a proclamation, granting a pardon to all the common people who should desert their leaders, and offering great rewards to any who should apprehend the duke of Buckingham, the marquis of Dorset, the bishops of Ely and Salisbury, and several knights and gentlemen, who are therein named. For the duke, he offered £1000 in money, or £100 a-year in land—for

Proclamation.

⁶⁴ Rym. Feod. torn. 12. p. 203.⁶⁵ Hall, f. 15. Stow, p. 465. Holingh. p. 1403.

A. D. 1483. the marquis and each of the bishops, 1000 marks in money, or 100 marks a-year in land—for each of the knights, one half of that sum⁶⁶. In this curious proclamation, the immaculate Richard expresses the most violent indignation against whoredom, of which he says his enemies were notoriously guilty, particularly the marquis of Dorset,—“ who, to the perille of his soule, hath many
 “ and sundry maydes, wydowes, and wives, damp-
 “ nably, and without shame, devoured, deflowred,
 “ and defouled, holding the unshampful and
 “ myschivous woman, called Shore’s wife, in
 “ adultry⁶⁷.”

Buckingham beheaded.

This proclamation had a considerable effect. The perfidious Bannister, enticed by the greatness of the reward, discovered his unfortunate guest to John Mitton, sheriff of Shropshire, who apprehended and conducted him to Salisbury; where, without any trial, he was beheaded, November 1⁶⁸.

Insurgents dispersed.

The followers of the other conspirators, enticed by the promise of pardon on the one hand, and discouraged by the disaster that had befallen the duke of Buckingham on the other, deserted them; which compelled them to abandon their enterprise, and consult their safety by flight. Some of them, as the marquis of Dorset, the bishops of Ely and Exeter, and a great number of knights and gentlemen, escaped to the continent; others took shelter in sanctuaries; and others concealed themselves in

⁶⁶ Rym. Foed. tom. 12. p. 204.

⁶⁷ Id. ibid.

⁶⁸ Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingsh. p. 2403. Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

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the country. In this manner was this formidable insurrection terminated in a few days, and without a blow⁶⁹.

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In the mean time, the earl of Richmond had been very active; and having got together a small army, and a fleet of forty ships, he sailed from St. Maloe's, October 12. But on the next day, his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, which drove the greatest part of it back to the continent. The earl's ship weathered the storm, and approached the coast of England near Poole, where he hovered several days, in expectation of being joined by the rest of his fleet. Being disappointed in this expectation, he found himself under a necessity of abandoning his enterprise; and in his return, he was obliged to land in Normandy, where he received the disagreeable news of the dispersion of his friends in England; and on his arrival in Brittany, he there found the marquis of Dorset, and many other fugitives⁷⁰.

Rich-
mond's
attempt.

Richard, transported with joy at so many fortunate events, marched from Salisbury, November 2, at the head of a gallant army, and proceeded to Exeter, reducing all those parts to order and submission, and punishing such of the leaders of the late insurrection as had been apprehended. Amongst these was his own brother-in-law, sir Thomas St. Leger, who was, with several others, executed at Exeter, though great interest was made, and a great sum of money was offered for his life⁷¹.

Punish-
ments.

⁶⁹ Hall, f. 16. Stow, p. 465. Holingth. p. 1403. Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

⁷⁰ Hist. Croyl. p. 568.

⁷¹ Id. ibid.

A.D. 1483. The number of persons executed on this occasion was not very great; as all yeomen and common people were pardoned by the proclamation, and many of their leaders escaped beyond sea, or into sanctuaries, which every where abounded, and were esteemed inviolable.

King re-
turns to
Westmin-
ster.

Richard, having reduced all to quiet, rewarded and sent home a great part of his northern troops, on whom he had chiefly depended⁷². He then returned towards the capital, and was met at Kingston by the mayor and aldermen, with about 500 citizens, nobly mounted and richly dressed, who conducted him through the city to Westminster, where he celebrated the feast of Christmas with great pomp⁷³.

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Parlia-
ment.

Richard seemed now to be firmly seated on the throne, all his powerful enemies being either laid in the dust, or driven out of the kingdom. He wisely embraced that opportunity to call a parliament; because he well knew, that in these circumstances he could easily influence it to do what he pleased. This parliament met at Westminster, on Friday, January 20, and made several good and popular laws; but at the same time effectually answered the political views of Richard, and did whatever he was pleased to dictate⁷⁴. That petition which had been presented to him when he assumed the government, was now converted into an act of parliament, declaring the marriage of Edward IV. and lady Grey illegal, and all their

⁷² Hist. Croyl. p. 570.

⁷³ Id. ibid. Fabian, f. 226.

⁷⁴ Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 34.

children

A. D. 1484.

children bastards, and settling the crown on Richard and his posterity⁷⁵. Many of the members (says a contemporary historian) were influenced by fear to give their consent to that act⁷⁶. All persons of any note, who had been concerned in the late insurrections, were attainted, and their estates confiscated; which brought a prodigious accession both of power and wealth to the crown⁷⁷.

During the sitting of this parliament, one day in the month of February, Richard assembled all the members of both houses in a certain room in his palace, and there produced to them, in writing, an oath to support the succession of his son, Edward prince of Wales, to the crown, which he engaged or obliged them all both to swear and subscribe⁷⁸. Oath.

This parliament had the cruelty (at whose instigation it may be easily guessed) to strip the queen-dowager of all the estates that had been settled upon her by the late king, and confirmed to her by parliament⁷⁹. That unhappy princess, reduced to poverty as well as overwhelmed with disgrace, and seeing no prospect of relief from either, began to listen to Richard's persuasions, to leave the sanctuary, and to put herself and her five daughters into his hands. To encourage her to do this, he took a solemn oath in the house of peers, March 1, —“ That if she would come to him out of the “ sanctuary at Westminster, he would provide for “ her and for her daughters as his kinswomen;

The queen leaves the sanctuary.

⁷⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. 2. p. 385, &c.

⁷⁶ Hist. Croyl. p. 570.

⁷⁷ Id. *ibid.*

⁷⁸ Id. *ibid.*

⁷⁹ Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528. Note.

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“ and they should be in no danger of their lives :
 “ and that he would allow her 700 marks a-year,
 “ and her daughters 200 marks a-piece for their
 “ portions in marriage, and would take care to
 “ marry them to gentlemen ⁸⁰.” How dishonour-
 able a transaction was this ! a king of England
 swearing before his spiritual and temporal lords,
 that he would not murder five innocent young
 ladies, the daughters of his own brother, and of
 their late sovereign ? how pitiful a provision did
 Richard propose to make for his unhappy nieces,
 who he knew had lately stood contracted to the
 greatest princes in Europe ? and yet, such was the
 distress of the wretched queen, that she accepted
 these humiliating terms, and trusted her own life
 and the lives of her daughters to the security of
 Richard’s oath.

Death of
 Edward
 prince of
 Wales.

Richard soon found, that the greatest prosperity
 could not secure him from the deepest distress.
 After the dissolution of parliament, he made a pro-
 gress, with his queen and court, into the north ;
 and at Nottingham received the afflicting news,
 that his only legitimate child, Edward prince of
 Wales, on whom he lately had died at Middle-
 ham castle, April 9, after a short illness ⁸¹. Both
 Richard and his queen were so much affected with
 this news, that, as a contemporary historian tells
 us, they almost run mad ⁸².

⁸⁰ Buck, apud Kennet, p. 528. Note.

⁸¹ Hist. Croyl. p. 571.

⁸² Id. *ibid.* This is a literal translation of the words of the histo-
 rian of Croyland, who lived at no great distance from Nottingham,
 and had probably heard of some of their actions or words, which
 indicated that the excess of their grief had in some degree disordered
 their minds.

Richard

Richard was soon roused from this excessive sorrow for his son, by receiving intelligence from his ambassador at the court of Brittany, that the earl of Richmond and the English exiles were meditating another attempt against his government. To prevent, if possible, that attempt, he directed his ambassador to renew his negotiations with the duke of Brittany, or rather with his favourite Peter Landois, for the delivery of the earl of Richmond into his hands. Francis II. duke of Brittany, the generous protector of the exiled earl, had for some time been in a declining state of health, which had impaired his capacity for business, and made him commit the management of all his affairs to his favourite, who was at length overcome by the splendid offers of the king of England; and a bargain was struck for the surrender of the earl of Richmond⁸³. Though this negotiation was conducted with great secrecy, John Morgan, bishop of Ely, got a hint of it, which he communicated to the earl, who fled into France, and was followed by the English exiles⁸⁴. The fugitives were kindly received by madam de Beaujeu, who had the chief direction of the affairs of France during the minority of her brother Charles VIII.; and were encouraged to hope for assistance.

In the mean time, Richard, not trusting wholly to his foreign negotiations, made every possible preparation for giving his enemies a warm reception, if they landed. To secure the attachment

A. D. 1484.
Earl of Richmond flees to France.

Richard's precautions.

⁸³ Argentri, l. 13. c. 26.

⁸⁴ Id. ibid. Philip de Comines, l. 5. c. 18. p. 437. Histoire de France, par Garnier, tom. 19. p. 394, &c.

A.D. 1484.

of the Yorkists, he declared his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, eldest son of his sister Elisabeth, and of John duke of Suffolk, his heir and successor⁸⁵. That he might have no other enemies upon his hands, he concluded a truce with James III. king of Scotland, for three years, September 21; and at the same time, a marriage was agreed upon between James prince of Scotland, and his niece the lady Ann of Suffolk⁸⁶. To gain intelligence of the designs of his enemies abroad, he employed many spies—he stationed men and horses on all the principal roads in England, at the distance of about twenty miles from one another, to bring him the news of any landing on the coasts, or commotion in the country—and he fitted out a fleet to guard the seas. To increase the zeal of his northern friends, on whom he chiefly depended, he granted them many of the forfeited estates in the south, on which they settled, and acted as spies upon their disaffected neighbours⁸⁷. Having taken these prudent precautions, he returned to London, September 29, and celebrated the feast of Christmas at Westminster, with uncommon splendour⁸⁸.

A.D. 1485.

Raises money by benevolence.

On Epiphany, January 6, as Richard, in his royal robes, with his crown on his head, was celebrating that festival, he received intelligence from one of his spies abroad, that the earl of Richmond would most certainly invade England next spring or summer. He affected to rejoice at this news,

⁸⁵ Buck, p. 535.⁸⁶ Rym. Feod. t. 12. p. 235, &c.⁸⁷ Hist. Croyl. p. 573.⁸⁸ Id. ibid.

as it would give him an opportunity (he said) of crushing all his enemies. But when he came to inquire, he found his exchequer was low, and that he was but ill provided with the sinews of war. For though he had suppressed the late insurrections without any expence of blood, it was not without much expence of treasure, of which he had not been sparing. To replenish his exhausted coffers, he had recourse to that mode of raising money called *benevolence*, against which an act had been made in the very last parliament⁸⁹. This measure was as imprudent as it was illegal; especially as the persons employed by him to solicit, or rather to demand these benevolences, acted, as it is said, in a very tyrannical manner; which diminished Richard's popularity in some parts of the kingdom, and increased the prevailing odium against him in others⁹⁰.

A. D. 1485.

The queen-confort, who had for some months been in a declining state of health, died March 16; and though Richard hath been boldly charged by many of our historians with the guilt of hastening her death by various means, there is certainly no evidence that he committed that crime⁹¹. He was not, however, ignorant, that the plan of his enemies was, to unite the houses of York and Lancaster, by a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and that all Richmond's hopes of success de-

Richard
proposes
to marry
the princess
Elizabeth.

⁸⁹ Statutes at Large, vol. 2. p. 54.

⁹⁰ Hist. Croyl. p. 571, 572.

⁹¹ Id. p. 572. Hall, f. 24, 25. Stow, p. 467. Rapin, vol. 1. p. 644. See Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 74.

ended

A.D. 1485.



pendent on the execution of that plan. Being now a widower, he formed the design of defeating that scheme, by marrying the princess himself; and we have even some reason to believe, that he had formed that design when he saw his queen in a languishing way; and that he had conveyed some hints of his intention to the princess, who had appeared at court at Christmas every day in the same dress, with the queen⁹². However that may be, it is certain, that kings court the fair with great advantage, and the lustre of a crown is apt to dazzle the brightest eyes. Both the young princess and the queen her mother consented to this unnatural alliance, with a man who had done them the most cruel injuries, but now enticed them by the most tempting promises. The queen communicated the design to her son the marquis of Dorset, who was at Paris with the earl of Richmond, and intreated him to return to England, to receive the honours that had been promised him by Richard⁹³.

Earl of
Richmond
lands at
Milford-
haven.

The news of this intended marriage alarmed the earl of Richmond, and made him hasten his preparations for invading England. He had been lately joined by the brave John de Vere, earl of Oxford, who had been twelve years a prisoner in the castle of Hams in Picardy—by sir James Blount, governor of that castle—sir John Fortescue, porter of Calais—and by several young English gentlemen, who were students in the university of Paris; who, with the English exiles, and about 2000 French adventurers, made up an army of about 3000 men⁹⁴. With

⁹² Hist. Croyl. p. 572.⁹³ Id. ibid.⁹⁴ Polidore Vir-

gil, p. 526, 527. Hall, f. 25. Stow, p. 468.

this

this small army, Henry earl of Richmond failed from Harfleur in Normandy, August 1, and landed at Milford-haven on the 7th day of that month⁹⁵.

A. D. 1485.

Though Richard had received intelligence of the intended invasion from his spies, he never could discover in what part of the kingdom his enemies designed to land; which threw him into great perplexity. His mind was also haunted with tormenting doubts and fears of the infidelity of almost all around him; and he knew not whom to trust. His suspicions were particularly strong of his great friend Thomas lord Stanley, constable of England, because he was married to Margaret countess of Richmond, his competitor's mother; and though that nobleman made the strongest professions of loyalty, he was obliged to leave his eldest son, George lord Strange, as a hostage, before he could obtain permission to go into the country to raise his followers. Having sent his chief confident, lord Lovel, to Southampton to equip a fleet, he took his station at Nottingham, from whence he issued proclamations to all his subjects to join his standard, denouncing destruction on those who did not obey⁹⁶. Here he received the news of the landing of his enemies, and of the smallness of their number, and contented himself with sending orders to sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, two powerful chieftains in Wales, to raise their followers, and drive the invaders out of the kingdom⁹⁷. But he paid dear for this contempt of his enemies. He sent his commands to lord Stan-

Richard's perplexities and preparations.

⁹⁵ Hist. Croyl. p. 573.

⁹⁶ Id. *ibid*,

⁹⁷ Id. *ibid*. Hall, f. 27.

ley

A.D. 1485. ley to join him immediately with his troops; but that nobleman, pretending that he was ill of the sweating-sickness, which raged at that time, begged a short delay. His son, lord Strange, attempting to escape from court, was apprehended and brought back; and, to save his life, discovered his father's design to join the earl of Richmond, and at the same time engaged to reconcile and bring him and his forces to Richard⁹⁸.

Earl of
Rich-
mond's
progress.

As soon as the earl of Richmond landed, he sent messengers to his friends to collect their followers, and come to his assistance; and having refreshed his men, he marched to Haverford-west, and from thence to Pembroke and Cardigan; at all which places he was joyfully received. Here he was joined by Richard Griffith and Richard App Thomas, two Welsh gentlemen, with their friends. Though he had hitherto received no great accession of strength, he had met with no opposition; but he was now informed, that sir Walter Herbert and Rice App Thomas, with a considerable body of men, were at Cairmarden, determined to obstruct his progress; which caused a great alarm in his little army. He found means, however, to prevail upon Rice App Thomas, by a promise of the government of Wales, to join him with his followers; which so much discouraged sir Walter Herbert, that he suffered him to pass without any molestation⁹⁹. The earl then proceeded upon his march, and at Newport, in Shropshire, he was joined by sir George Talbot, at the head of 2000 men, the val-

⁹⁸ Hist. Croyl. p. 573.

⁹⁹ Hall, f. 27.

fals of his nephew the young earl of Shrewsbury, which made his army amount to more than 6000¹⁰⁰. At Stafford he had a private interview with sir William Stanley, lord Stanley's brother, who had raised 2000 men; and at that interview the future motions of lord Stanley and sir William were contrived in such a manner, as to make Richard believe they intended to join him, and at the same time to have it in their power to join Henry, when they could do him the most effectual service¹⁰¹. In consequence of this concert, lord Stanley, who was at Litchfield with 5000 men, evacuated that place, and retired to Aderstone, at the approach of Richmond; which made the king give credit to his professions of loyalty.

A. D. 1485.

Battle of
Bosworth.

When Richard received intelligence of the defection of Rice App Thomas, and the inaction of sir Walter Herbert, he began to apprehend that this invasion would prove more dangerous than he had imagined. Though many of his forces were not yet arrived, he marched from Nottingham to Leicester, at the head of an army of about 15,000 men; which (if the troops had been all hearty in the cause, and he had been joined by lord Stanley, and his brother sir William, as he expected) was more than sufficient to have crushed the earl of Richmond and his adherents. On Sunday, August 22, he marched out of Leicester, in great pomp, with the crown on his head, and encamped that evening at the abbey of Merrival, not far from Bosworth¹⁰².

¹⁰⁰ Hall, f. 27. Stow, p. 468.
Croyl. p. 574.

¹⁰¹ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁰² Hist.

The

A. D. 1485.

The earl of Richmond encamped, the same evening, so near, that several gentlemen deserted to him in the night; which filled the royal army with mutual diffidence and suspicion. On Monday, August 23, both princes drew up their troops, each in two lines, to decide this important quarrel. Lord Stanley took his station on one wing, opposite to the interval between the two armies, and sir William Stanley on the other. The battle was begun by the archers of both armies; but soon became more close. Richard's troops in general, it is said, discovered no great spirit or alacrity; and the earl of Northumberland and his men did not strike one stroke. But it was lord Stanley who, by falling on the flank of the royal army, turned the balance in favour of the earl of Richmond. When Richard observed this, and discovered his rival at no great distance, he determined to put an end to the contest by his own death, or that of his competitor; and, putting spurs to his horse, attended by a few of his most gallant followers, cut his way through every obstacle, unhorsing sir John Cheyne, and killing sir William Brandon, Richmond's standard-bearer, with his own hand. But when he was on the point of assaulting Henry's person (who neither courted nor declined the combat), he was overwhelmed by numbers, thrown to the ground, and slain, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he had reigned two years and about two months¹⁰³.

Conse-
quences.

Though this was one of the most decisive battles that ever was fought, it was neither long nor bloody;

¹⁰³ Hist. Croyl. p. 574. Fabian, f. 227. Hall, f. 33. Stow, p. 470.

about

about one thousand (according to the most probable accounts) being slain, on the vanquished, and very few on the victorious side¹⁰⁴. Of the great men among the loyalists, fell John Howard duke of Norfolk, Walter lord Ferrers of Chartley, with a few knights and gentlemen¹⁰⁵. Sir William Catesby, one of Richard's greatest confidants, was taken, and, with a few others, beheaded. The king's body was stripped naked, tied across a horse behind one of the heralds, and carried to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed to the view of the public, for a few days, it was buried in the church of the Greyfriars with very little ceremony¹⁰⁶.

A. D. 1485.

Richard III. if we may believe many of our historians, was a kind of monster, both in mind and body. "The tyrant king Richard (says John Rous of Warwick, his contemporary) was born at Fotheringay in Northamptonshire. Having remained two years in his mother's womb, he came into the world with teeth, and long hair down to his shoulders¹⁰⁷." What he adds is probably more agreeable to truth—"He was of a low stature, having a short face, with his right shoulder a little higher than his left;" a picture which was wrought up into absolute deformity by subsequent historians, but contradicted by the testimony of an eye-witness of undoubted credit¹⁰⁸.

Character of Richard III.

¹⁰⁴ Hall, f. 33. ¹⁰⁵ The duke of Norfolk was warned of his danger that morning by the following lines:

John of Norfolk be not too bold,
Dicken thy master is bought and sold.

¹⁰⁶ Sandford, p. 434. vol. 10. p. 215.

¹⁰⁷ T. Rosii apud Leland Hen. VIII.
¹⁰⁸ The countess of Desmond.

That

A.D. 1485.

That he possessed personal courage in a very high degree, his enemies could not deny, though they confessed it with reluctance. “ If I may venture “ to say any thing to his honour, though he was a “ little man, he was a noble and valiant soldier ¹⁰⁹.” He was much admired for his eloquence and powers of persuasion, which were almost irresistible, especially when they were aided by his bounty, which, on some occasions, was excessive ¹¹⁰. His understanding was certainly good; but he was rather a cunning than a wise man, impenetrably secret, and a perfect master of all the arts of dissimulation. Ambition was his ruling passion. It was this that prompted him to supplant his helpless nephew, in order to seize his crown; and when he had formed that design, he seems to have stuck at nothing to secure its success. That he was guilty of the cool deliberate murder of the earl Rivers, the lords Grey and Hastings, because he apprehended they would oppose his attempt upon the throne, cannot be denied. That he murdered also his two nephews, Edward V. and the duke of York, or one of them, I do not affirm, because I cannot prove it; and all the accounts that are given of the circumstances of the death of these two princes, I confess, are liable to great objections ¹¹¹. But though all these accounts may be false in some particulars, the principal fact may be true; and it is certainly not improbable.

¹⁰⁹ T. Roffi Hist. p. 218.¹¹⁰ Hist. Croyl. p. 357.¹¹¹ See Mr. Walpole's Historic Doubts, p. 51, &c.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

B O O K V.

CHAPTER I. PART II.

The Civil and Military History of Scotland,
from A. D. 1399, to the accession of
James IV. A. D. 1488.

S E C T I O N I.

*From A. D. 1399, to the accession of James II.
A. D. 1437.*

ROBERT III. the second prince of the family of Stuart, had been seated about nine years on the throne of Scotland, at the accession of Henry IV; to that of England¹. Robert was a good man, of a mild and gentle spirit; but having been

A. D. 1399.
Robert III.

¹ See vol. 7. b. 4. ch. 2, § 5.

A.D. 1399.

rendered lame, by the stroke of a horse, in his youth, he affected a retired life, and committed the administration of affairs to his brother Robert duke of Albany².

Death of
prince
David.

The profligacy of David prince of Scotland and duke of Rothsay, gave great concern to his royal parents, brought ruin on himself, and many calamities on his country. He was contracted, A. D. 1400, to the lady Elisabeth Dunbar, daughter of George earl of March, and some part of the lady's fortune paid. But Archibald, called *The Grim*, the rich and potent earl of Douglas, interposed, alleging, that the contract was illegal, as the nobility had not been consulted; and making an offer of his own daughter, the lady Marjory, with a larger fortune, his offer was accepted, and the marriage celebrated in the castle of Bothwell³. Matrimony made no reformation in the manners of this unhappy prince. On the contrary, after the death of his mother, queen Annabella, he became more and more licentious. The king had committed him to the care of certain noblemen, who were constantly to attend him, to restrain his sallies, and attempt his reformation; but they soon resigned their charge as hopeless. By the advice of sir William Lindsay of Rossy, and sir John Remorgencey, two of his counsellors, the king sent a mandate to his brother the duke of Albany, to put the prince under confinement for some time, in hopes that by this act of severity he might be reclaimed. The gentlemen who gave this advice, being no friends to the prince,

² Scotiecronicon, lib. 15. c. 14.

³ Id. ibid. c. 10.

carried

carried the mandate to the duke, and both prompted him to, and assisted him in its execution. The prince was accordingly apprehended as he was on his way to St. Andrew's, with a few attendants, to take possession of the castle of that city for the king, on the death of the late bishop Walter Trail. He was kept a few days in that castle, and from thence conducted to Falkland, and confined in a small room of the palace, where he died on Easter day, A. D. 1401⁴. The manner of his death is not certainly known. It was given out, that he died of a dysentery; but it was rumoured, and generally believed, that he was starved to death.

A. D. 1401.

This affair was agitated in a parliament held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1402; and by a solemn act under the great seal, it was declared—that the prince *had died by divine providence, and no otherwise*—that the king and parliament approved of his imprisonment as necessary for the public good—and that if the king had entertained any ill-will against his brother the duke of Albany, or his son-in-law the earl of Douglas, or any of their agents, on account of their conduct towards the late prince, he now laid it aside, and held them to be good and loyal subjects⁵. But whether this act and declaration was obtained by the power, or by the innocence of the duke and earl, may be doubted.

A. D. 1402.
Parliament.

The earl of March was so much enraged at the affront put upon his family, by the breach of the contract between prince David and his daughter,

Earl of March revolts.

⁴ Scotichronicon, lib. 15. c. 12.
of Scotland by Sir David Dalrymple, c. 19.

⁵ See Remarks on the History

A.D. 1402.

{

that he retired into England, and entered into a negotiation with Henry IV. which terminated in his swearing fealty to that prince, who granted to him and his heirs the lordship of Somerton in Lincolnshire, and the manor of Clipston, for his life⁶. That nobleman then sent for his family and followers into England, and for several years was an inveterate enemy to his country, guiding and assisting the English in all their incursions, which were very frequent, but too inconsiderable to be particularly related. The most fatal of those calamities he brought upon his country were, the defeat of the Scots at Nisbet-muir, A. D. 1401, and the still greater defeat at Hamildon, A. D. 1402, which hath been already mentioned⁷.

A. D. 1405.

Prince
James
taken.

Whatever opinion Robert III. entertained concerning the death of his eldest son prince David, it is no wonder that he became anxious for the safety of his youngest and only remaining hope, prince James. That young prince, with Henry Percy, heir to the earl of Northumberland, and some other young noblemen, resided in the castle of St. Andrew's, under the tuition of that generous and hospitable prelate Henry Wardlaw. At length, the king resolved to send him to the court of the ancient ally of his country and family, the king of France, that he might be out of danger, and receive an education suitable to his rank, and the station he was designed to fill. A ship being provided, the prince, his governor, Henry Sinclair

⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 133. 153.

⁷ Scotichronicon, l. 15. c. 13. 14.

earl of Orkney, and other attendants, embarked and set sail for France, with letters of recommendation to Charles VI. This proved a most unfortunate voyage; the prince, and all his suit, were seized by the English on the coast near Flamborough-head, April 12, A. D. 1405, and carried prisoners to London⁸. This happened about a week before the termination of a truce between the two kingdoms, and consequently was not strictly legal; but the truces in those times were in general very ill observed; and nothing was more common than to begin hostilities a few days or weeks before they expired⁹.

A.D. 1405.

Though the news of the captivity of his only son must have been very afflictive to the king, he did not abstain from food, and expire a few days after he received them, as is asserted by several of our historians¹⁰. There is the clearest evidence that he survived that event almost a year, and did not die till April 4, A. D. 1406¹¹. His character hath been already given.

A.D. 1406.
Death of
Robert III.

A parliament was held at Perth, in June A. D. 1406, by which James I. a prisoner in England, was acknowledged and proclaimed king, and his uncle Robert duke of Albany was appointed regent¹². Besides the king, Archibald earl of Douglas, Murdoch earl of Fife, the regent's eldest son, and many others of the Scotch nobility,

Duke of
Albany
regent.

⁸ Scoticon. l. 15. c. 18. Winton, Annotationes ad Buchan. p. 436. ⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 363.

¹⁰ Scoticon. l. 15. c. 18. Buchan. l. 10.

¹¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 430. Annot. ad Buchan. p. 436.

¹² Id. ibid.

A. D. 1406. knights, and gentlemen, who had been taken at the battles of Nisbet-muir, Hamildon, and Shrewsbury, were at this time prisoners in England; and the history of Scotland, for several years, consists chiefly of negotiations for the deliverance of these prisoners, and for short truces with the neighbouring kingdom¹³. The regent had been so long accustomed to the exercise of sovereignty, that he seems to have contracted a fondness for it, and discovered no desire to procure the liberty of his nephew, who, for several years, was almost entirely neglected, while the most strenuous efforts were made for the deliverance of the other prisoners.

A. D. 1409. George Dunbar, earl of March (who had received many valuable grants from the king of England, which he had richly merited by his services), on some disgust, began to entertain serious thoughts of returning to his native country; in which he was favoured by the regent; who, by his own authority, without consulting either the king or parliament, restored him to his honours, and the greatest part of his estate, A. D. 1409¹⁴. The truth is, the regent considered himself as possessed of all the powers of a king without exception; and in a letter to the king of England, May 6, A. D. 1410, he styles himself, regent of Scotland, by the grace of God; and calls the people of Scotland his subjects¹⁵.

A. D. 1411. Henry IV. made it his study to foment divisions amongst the Scots, and stir up enemies against

¹³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8.

¹⁴ Scoticron. lib. 15. c. 21.

¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 835.

them.

them. Donald, lord of the Isles, who affected a kind of independency, being greatly enraged against the regent for depriving him of the earldom of Ross, to which he claimed a right; Henry entered into a negotiation with him as an independent prince, animated him to seek redress by arms, and promised him his assistance¹⁶. Encouraged by so great an ally, Donald raised an army, took possession of the disputed earldom, being favoured by its vassals; and finding himself at the head of 10,000 men, he advanced into the fertile province of Moray, burning and plundering every thing in his way towards the city of Aberdeen; with the spoils of which he intended to enrich his followers. But Alexander earl of Marr having raised an army in the country between the rivers Spey and Tay, met the invaders at the village of Harlaw, about ten miles from Aberdeen; where a bloody battle was fought, July 24, A. D. 1411, to which night rather than victory put an end. The loss on both sides was so great, that both armies retreated the day after, without discovering any inclination to renew the action. The regent, next year, pursued the lord of the Isles, and obliged him to make his submission¹⁷.

A. D. 1411.

The earl of March and his family, after their return into their native country, were zealous and active in its service. Patrick Dunbar, one of the earl's sons, took the strong fortress of Fastcastle A. D. 1410, and made the governor (who was a

Services of
the March
family.

¹⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 3. p. 428. 527.

¹⁷ Scotieon. l. 15. c. 21.

A.D. 1411. { cruel plunderer of the country) prisoner; and Gavin Dunbar, another of his sons, plundered and burnt the town of Roxburgh; but could not attempt the castle¹⁸.

Earl of Douglas liberated.

After many negotiations, Archibald earl of Douglas obtained his liberty; and, returning into Scotland, was reconciled to his ancient enemy the earl of March, and joined with him in a commission to negotiate a peace or truce with England, in May 1411¹⁹.

A.D. 1412. Truce.

Though the regent neglected his captive sovereign, he laboured earnestly to procure the deliverance of his own son from captivity; and when the negotiations for that purpose were almost brought to perfection, they were interrupted by the death of Henry IV. March 20, A. D. 1413²⁰. But a truce between the two kingdoms had been concluded, and proclaimed May 17, A. D. 1412, to continue till Easter A. D. 1418.

James I. ill treated.

It must have been very discouraging to the young monarch, James I. to see himself so shamefully abandoned by his family and subjects, as he was in the first years of his captivity. We hear of no complaints they made of his detention, though it was illegal, of no attempts for his deliverance, of no money remitted for his support, of no friend sent to comfort him in his distress. He seems also to have been harshly treated for some time by Henry IV. who refused him the title of king after his father's death, and kept him a close prisoner in the

¹⁸ Scotichron. l. 15. c. 21. Buchan. lib. 10. p. 182.

¹⁹ Rym. Foed. tom. 8. p. 681.

²⁰ Id. ibid. p. 708. 735. tom. 9. p. 1.

tower of London more than two years²¹. But it was happy for this prince that he was blessed with an uncommon genius, and ardent thirst for knowledge of all kinds, which enabled him to pass his time in his confinement both usefully and agreeably, and to acquire such a variety of accomplishments as few princes in any age or country have possessed.

A. D. 1412.

Soon after the accession of Henry V. a negotiation was set on foot for the deliverance of the king of Scotland from his captivity; and a safe-conduct was granted by Henry, April 16, A. D. 1413, to continue to Lammas thereafter, to five commissioners from Scotland to remain in England, where they then were, to treat with him about that deliverance²². But whether these commissioners were appointed by the estates of the kingdom, or by the regent, or what they did in consequence of their commission, we are not informed; only we know that their negotiations were ineffectual. A safe-conduct was granted to six other commissioners, July 16, in the same year, for the same purpose; but their efforts were equally unsuccessful²³. It appears from another safe-conduct granted to sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, December 19, in the same year, that he also was employed in the same negotiations, and continued them to the 1st day of February 1414, when his safe-conduct expired²⁴. These facts afford sufficient evidence that the Scots were, at that time, sincerely desirous of

A. D. 1413.
Negotiation.

A. D. 1414.

²¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 484.

²² Id. tom. 9. p. 5.

²³ Id. ibid. p. 40.

²⁴ Id. ibid. p. 79.

A. D. 1414. obtaining the deliverance of their sovereign; and that, if the regent did not promote, he could not prevent, those steps they took to accomplish that end.

A. D. 1416. **Treaty between Henry and James.** After these efforts of his subjects had failed, James concluded a personal treaty with Henry, for permission to go into his own dominions, and to stay in them a certain time, upon giving sufficient hostages for the payment of 100,000 marks, if he did not return into England at the stipulated time. An indenture to that purpose was sealed by both kings; and Henry granted a commission, December 8, A. D. 1416, to the bishop of Durham, the earls of Northumberland or Westmoreland, to take James's oath that he would return or pay the money, to receive the hostages, and to judge of their sufficiency. At the same time he granted safe-conducts to the earls of Athole, Fife, Douglas, Marr, and Crawford, the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, George, son and heir to the earl of March, and sir William de Graham (who were probably the intended hostages), to come into England.²⁵ But after all these preparations, that treaty was never executed; and James continued in his confinement, during the whole reign of Henry V.

Earl of Fife liberated.

The duke of Albany was more successful in his endeavours to procure the freedom of his eldest son, Murdoch earl of Fife; who was exchanged, A. D. 1415, for Henry Percy, grandson to the

²⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9, p. 417, 418.

late

late earl of Northumberland, and son of the famous Hotspur²⁶. A. D. 1416.

The hostilities between the two British nations on the borders, were interrupted by frequent truces during the whole reign of Henry V. For it was the wise policy of that great prince, to keep the Scots as quiet as possible, while he was engaged in his grand undertaking of acquiring the crown of France. The most considerable of these hostilities happened A. D. 1417, when the Scots invested both Berwick and Roxburgh at the same time; but, on the approach of the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, at the head of a formidable army, they raised both the sieges²⁷. A. D. 1417.
Hostilities
on the
borders.

But though the Scots did not give Henry V. much disquiet in Britain, they gave him no little opposition on the continent. Charles, dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VII. being reduced to great distress, by the unnatural union of his delirious father, his implacable mother, and his enraged cousin the duke of Burgundy, with the king of England, sent the earl of Vendosme into Scotland, A. D. 1419, to implore the assistance of the ancient allies of his country. The regent and estates, convinced that if France and England came to be united under one sovereign, Scotland could not long preserve its independency, granted an aid of 7000 men, who were soon raised and sent into France, under the command of John earl of Buchan, the regent's second son, Archibald earl of Wigton. A. D. 1419.
Scots assist
the French.

²⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 9. p. 323, 324.

²⁷ Walsing. p. 399. Drake's Hist. Anglo-Scotica, p. 196, 197.

eldest

A. D. 1419. eldest son to the earl of Douglas, and several other barons.

A. D. 1421. These troops had the honour to give the first check to the English arms, by the illustrious battle of Baugé, 23d March A. D. 1421²⁸. The pope, Martin V. when he heard of this victory, said,—“ the Scots are the best antidote against the English²⁹.” The dauphin expressed his gratitude for this important service, by bestowing the high office of constable on the earl of Buchan, a valuable estate on the earl of Wigton, and suitable rewards on the other leaders³⁰.

Death and character of the duke of Albany.

Robert duke of Albany did not live to hear of the same acquired by his son and countrymen, at the battle of Baugé; having died at Stirling, about six months before that action, in the eightieth year of his age. A contemporary historian, who, from his station and situation, must have been well acquainted with him, gives this prince an excellent character. “ In his person, he was uncommonly tall and handsome; his hair and complexion were fair, and his countenance sweet and amiable. He was wise in council, and brave in action; eloquent in public assemblies, and pleasant in private conversation. In his manners, he was mild, affable, and gracious; and more splendid and hospitable (especially to strangers) in his way of living, than any other person³¹.” That he was ambitious and fond of power, cannot be

²⁸ Ford. Scoticon. lib. 15. c. 31. 33.

²⁹ Id. ibid.

³⁰ Hist. Fran. par Villar, tom. 14. p. 122. Hume of Godscroft, p. 127.

³¹ Scoticon. lib. 15. c. 37.

doubted;

doubted; but whether or not his ambition prompted him to put his nephew prince David to death, is one of those historical problems that never will be clearly solved. He was succeeded as duke of Albany, and regent of the kingdom, by his eldest son, Murdoch earl of Fife.

A. D. 1421.

Henry V. exerted all his policy to prevent the Scots from opposing him in the execution of his favourite project, the conquest of France. In his second expedition into that country, finding an army of Scots in the field against him, he sent for his prisoner, the king of Scotland, in hopes that his personal presence in his army, and the use of his name, would prevail upon his subjects to return home. But in this he was disappointed. For though the leaders of the Scots professed the highest regard for the person of their king, they denied that he could command his subjects, or that they were bound to obey him, while he was a prisoner. The presence, however, of the king of Scotland, in his army, furnished Henry with a pretence of putting such of the Scots as fell into his hands to death as traitors³¹; for which, if they had been really traitors, the king of England had no right to punish them. Henry employed intrigues, as well as severities, to detach the Scots from the service of the dauphin. He granted a safe-conduct to sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, at his camp before Milun, August 30, A. D. 1420, to come and converse with him about certain affairs; and having conversed with him, he granted him another safe-

Efforts of Henry V. to detach the Scots from their French alliance.

³¹ Scotichron. lib. 15. c. 34.

conduct,

A.D. 1421.

conduct, September 7, to go into Normandy to converse with the king of Scotland³². The subjects of these conversations or negotiations are not certainly known; but it is most probable that they related to that very extraordinary treaty that was finally concluded and sealed, at London, May 30, A.D. 1421, between Henry V. and Archibald earl of Douglas. By this treaty the earl of Douglas, at the earnest desire and command of his sovereign king James, engaged to serve the king of England all his life, against all men, except the king of Scotland, with 200 men at arms, and 200 archers, at the usual wages, and a pension of £ 200 a-year; and the king of England, in consequence of this service, engaged to permit king James to visit his dominions, for a limited time, within three months after the return of the two kings from France, for which they were to set out in a few weeks³³. From this remarkable treaty (which never was executed) it plainly appears, that king James earnestly desired to detach his subjects from the service of the dauphin, in order to obtain his own liberty. It further appears, that king James actually engaged several of his barons to come over to him, with their followers; as, Alexander lord Forbes, with forty men at arms, and sixty other attendants; Alexander de Seton, lord of Gordon, with twenty men at arms, and sixty other followers; William Blair, John Winton, and William de Fowls, each with a certain number of men³⁴. But the great

³² Rym. Ford. tom. 10. p. 18, 19.

³³ Id. *ibid.* p. 123.

³⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 153, 154, 174.

body of the barons and people of Scotland adhered steadily to the dauphin, and contributed greatly to his preservation. A. D. 1421.

Murdoch Stewart duke of Albany, and regent of Scotland, was a weak prince, and had little authority even in his own family. Fatigued by the affairs of government, for which he was unfit, and harassed by the turbulent spirit of his three sons, he began, it is said, earnestly to desire the deliverance of the king. This much at least is certain, that negotiations for that purpose commenced soon after the death of Henry V. and the return of king James from France. A safe-conduct was granted, May 12, A. D. 1423, to William bishop of Glasgow, George earl of March, sir John Montgomery of Ardrossane, sir Patrick Dunbar of Bile, sir Robert Lawdre of Edrington, sir William Borthwick of Borthwick, and sir John Forstar of Corstorphin, to come to Pomfret, to treat about the deliverance of the king of Scotland³⁵. The commissioners appointed by the English council were, the bishops of Durham and Worcester, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, sir Richard Neville, sir Ralph Cromwell, sir Thomas Chaworth, and two other gentlemen. The instructions given to these commissioners, dated July 6, contain some curious specimens of that chicane and artifice so common in such negotiations. King James was to be at Pomfret in the time of the treaty; and the English commissioners are instructed to make great difficulty about allowing the Scots commissioners to

A. D. 1423.
Treaty for
the deliver-
ance of
king
James.

³⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 286.

have

A.D. 1423.

have a private conference with him ; but at last to grant it as a mighty favour. They are also instructed to demand £ 40,000, for the expences of king James's maintenance in England ; but if they could not obtain that sum, to accept of £ 36,000, which was at the rate of £ 2000 a-year, equivalent to about £ 20,000 of our money at present. They are further directed, when the Scots commissioners were in good humour, to introduce a discourse about a perpetual peace, or long truce, between the two nations, and of a marriage between king James and some English lady³⁶. The king of Scotland was conducted to Pomfret, where some progress was made in the treaty, which was adjourned to York, where it was concluded, September 10, on the following terms : 1. That king James should pay to king Henry £ 40,000 (equivalent to about £ 400,000 at present), for the expence of his maintenance, &c. in England, by annual payments of 10,000 marks ; unless the duke of Exeter should prevail on the king and council of England to remit the last 10,000 marks. 2. The Scots commissioners promised to deliver sufficient hostages for the security of these payments : but because they could not then give in the names of these hostages, it was agreed, that king James should be at Braunspath, or Durham, on the 1st day of March ensuing, to hold conferences with the nobility of his kingdom concerning that matter. 3. Because the marriage of the king of Scotland with some lady of England might contribute

³⁶ Rym. Ford. torn. 10. p. 294.

to promote peace between the two nations, it was agreed, that the regent of Scotland should send commissioners to London before the 20th of October, to treat on that subject ¹⁷.

A. D. 1423.

It is remarkable, that the word *ransom* is never used in all these negotiations for the deliverance of king James; and that at a time when no prisoner of importance was released without paying a ransom proportioned to his rank and wealth. This caution of the English commissioners, in avoiding to demand a ransom, was certainly intended to avoid all discussions about the legality of his capture, and was a tacit acknowledgment of its illegality.

No ransom demanded.

After the return of king James from York to London, attended by his commissioners, several additional stipulations were agreed upon, December 4, A. D. 1423, chiefly respecting the securities to be given for the payment of the £ 40,000. Particularly it was agreed, that each of the four towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, should give a bond to the king of England for 50,000 marks; which bonds were to be delivered up as soon as the £ 40,000 was paid. Several regulations were made concerning the hostages, who were all to live at their own expence; and the following list of the intended hostages, with the annual value of their estates, was given in to the English council; which exhibits a curious view of the circumstances of many of the great families of Scotland at that time.

Hostages.

¹⁷ Rymer. Foed. tom. 10. p. 299, 300.

A. D. 1423.

	Marks.	Equivalent to about
Thomas earl of Moray, - -	1000	£ 6666
Alexander earl of Crawford, -	1000	6666
William earl of Angus, -	600	4000
Malice earl of Stratherne, -	500	3333
George earl of March, or his eldest son,	800	5338
David, eldest son of the earl of Athol, } or his son and heir, - }	1200	8000
William, constable of Scotland, or his } son and heir, - }	800	5338
Robert lord Erskine, -	1000	6666
Robert, marishal of Scotland, or his } son and heir, - }	800	5338
Walter lord of Dyrleton, or his son } and heir, - }	800	5338
John lord Seaton, or his son and heir,	600	4000
Sir John Montgomery of Ardrossane,	700	4666
Alexander lord Gordon, - -	400	2666
Malcolm lord Bygare, -	600	4000
Thomas lord Yester, - -	600	4000
John Kennedy of Carrick, -	500	3333
Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnock, or his } son and heir, - }	500	3333
Patrick Dunbar, lord Cumnock, or his } son and heir, - }	500	3333
James lord Dalkeith, or his eldest son,	1500	10,000
Duncan lord of Argyle, - -	1500	10,000
John Lyon of Glaumis, -	600	4000

A. D. 1424.

Other
hostages.

Some changes were made in the above list before the hostages were actually delivered at Durham, March 28, A. D. 1424; when twenty-seven of the representatives or heirs of the best families in Scotland voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners for the deliverance of their king¹⁸. The

¹⁸ Rym. Fed. tom. 10. p. 307. 327.

regent's

regent's three sons were averse to that measure, and declined being hostages; which was probably one cause of that severity with which they were treated by James after his restoration.

A. D. 1424.

The affair of king James's marriage was soon settled. He had long before fixed his affections on the lady Jane Beaufort, a lady of great beauty, and one of the nearest female relations of the king of England, being grand-daughter to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, by his son John Beaufort earl of Somerset. Their nuptials were solemnized February 22, and the day after, a discharge, under the great seal, was granted to James, of the last 10,000 marks of the £ 40,000 he had engaged to pay to England ³⁹.

King James married.

King James and his young queen, a few days after their marriage, set out for Durham, where they arrived, according to stipulation, about the 1st of March. James was there met by sixty-five of the chief noblemen and gentlemen of his kingdom, and spent the whole month of March in settling every thing necessary to his deliverance. Amongst other things, he gave in to the English commissioners four bonds, from the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, for 50,000 marks each, being the whole sum due to England, after deducting the 10,000 marks already discharged ⁴⁰. He gave also his own bond for the whole sum of £ 40,000 ⁴¹. He further surrendered the following twelve hostages, named in the above list,

King James at Durham.

³⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 322.

⁴⁰ Id. *ibid.* p. 324. 326.

⁴¹ Id. *ibid.* p. 326.

A.D. 1424.

viz. David, eldest son of the earl of Athole, the earls of Moray and Crawford, Duncan lord of Argyle, William, eldest son of lord Dalkeith, Gilbert, eldest son of William constable of Scotland, Robert marishal of Scotland, Robert lord Erskine, Walter lord Dirleton, Thomas Boyd lord of Kilmarnock, Patrick lord Cumnock, and Alexander lord Gordon⁴². Nine of those named in the above list declined being hostages, or were on some accounts excused; and, in their room, James delivered the following fifteen lords and gentlemen, with a schedule of the annual value of their estates:

	Marks.	Equivalent to about
William lord Abernethy,	500	£ 3333
James Dunbar, lord Frendrath,	500	3333
Andrew Gray of Foulis,	600	4000
Robert lord Livingstone,	400	2666
John Lindefay,	500	3333
Robert lord Lisle,	300	2000
James lord of Caldor,	400	2666
James lord of Cadzo,	500	3333
William lord Ruthvane,	400	2666
William Oliphant, lord Aberdalgy,	-	-
George, heir of Hugh Campel,	300	2000
Robert, heir of lord Maitland,	400	2666
David Mienzies,	200	1333
David Ogilby,	200	1333
David, heir of John lord Lyon,	300	2000

Many of our present nobility will be pleased to see the names of their remote ancestors, in this list

⁴² Rym. Feod. tom. 80. p. 327.

of illustrious patriots, who resigned their own liberty, to procure the freedom of their sovereign and the good of their country. A. D. 1424.

All these hostages took a solemn oath, on the gospels, that they would remain in the custody of the king of England till every thing agreed upon was fully executed. They were then put into the custody of sir Robert Hilton, sheriff of Yorkshire, and soon after committed to the tower of London, the castle of Dover, and other prisons in the south of England, at a great distance from their friends and country⁴³. In a word, the council of England acted with great rigour in the whole of this transaction, and took every possible advantage of their having the person of the king of Scotland in their possession. But generosity in political negotiations between hostile nations, is a very uncommon virtue. Rigour of the English council.

Before king James left Durham, he concluded a truce with England, March 28, to continue from May 1, A. D. 1424, to May 1, A. D. 1431⁴⁴. From this truce, the Scots army then in France, commanded by the earl of Buchan, constable of France, the earl of Douglas, duke of Touraine, and several other chieftains, was expressly excepted. Truce with England.

All these tedious transactions being at last finished, king James, with his queen, and a numerous retinue of his subjects, set out from Durham, in the beginning of April A. D. 1424, and was escorted to the border by the noblemen and gentlemen of the north of England⁴⁵. He took a King James arrives in Scotland.

⁴³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 335, 336, &c.

⁴⁴ Id. ibid. p. 329, &c.

⁴⁵ Id. ibid. p. 332.

A.D. 1424. { solemn oath, on the gospels, at Melrofs, April 5, to perform every thing to which he had agreed⁴⁶; and, by easy journies, arrived at Edinburgh three days after, where he was received with every possible demonstration of joy, by great multitudes of his subjects, assembled to behold their sovereign, returned from a cruel captivity of nineteen years⁴⁷.

James
crowned.

The necessary preparations being made, James and his queen were crowned at Scoon, May 21, by Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St. Andrew's. The late regent, Murdoch duke of Albany, though certainly no favourite, was permitted to perform the honourable office which belonged to him as earl of Fife, of placing the king in the throne⁴⁸.

State of
affairs.

When James had leisure to examine his affairs, he found them in a most deplorable disorder. The two regents, by their excessive grants, in order to gain friends, had alienated so much of the crownlands, and even of the private patrimony of his family, that he was so far from being able to pay the money owing to England, that he could hardly support his household in a manner suitable to his dignity. The reins of government had also been so much relaxed by the regents, especially by duke Murdoch, that the country was a scene of anarchy and confusion, over-run by fierce and lawless plunderers, who rambled about in great bodies, lived at free quarters, and took what they pleased⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Rym. Fœd. p. 343, 344.

⁴⁷ Annotationes in Buchan. p. 437.

⁴⁸ Scotichron. lib. 16. c. 2.

⁴⁹ Parliament 1st, James I. chap. 7.

To remedy these and many other disorders, as well as to raise money to pay the debt owing to England, James held a parliament, which met at Perth, May 26, A. D. 1424, in the nineteenth year of his reign, though only five days after his coronation⁵⁰. This parliament assigned the greater and smaller customs, and the rents due by burghs, for the support of the royal household;—appointed an inquest to be made by the sheriff in each shire into the lands that had belonged to the crown in the three preceding reigns, in order to the resumption of such as had been alienated;—and imposed a tax of one shilling in the pound on rents and goods for two years, drawn oxen, ridden horses, and household-furniture excepted, for the payment of the debt to England⁵¹.

A. D. 1424.
Parliament.

This tax, being unusual, was unpopular, and paid with great reluctance. In the first year it yielded only 14,000 marks, equivalent to about £ 90,000 at present; but in the second year it yielded much less, and excited great discontents among the common people⁵². This obliged king James to desist from that mode of raising money, put it out of his power to be punctual in his payments to England, and detained the hostages in that country, at a great expence, longer than was intended. To render that hardship more tolerable to particular persons, these hostages were exchanged from time to time, according to an article in the treaty, for others whose estates were of equal value⁵³.

A. D. 1425
Discontents.

⁵⁰ Parliament 1st, James I. chap. 7.

⁵¹ Id. c. 8, 9, 10.

⁵² Scotichron. lib. 16. c. 9.

⁵³ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 245—249.

A. D. 1425.

Deſtruc-
tion of the
Albany
family.

James very ſoon began to diſcover his animosity againſt the family of the late regent, by cauſing his eldeſt ſon, Walter, to be arreſted and impriſoned, May 13, A. D. 1424⁵⁴. But he did not ſtop there; for, on the ninth day of his ſecond parliament, March 21, A. D. 1425, he cauſed duke Murdoch himſelf, Alexander his ſecond ſon, Duncan earl of Lenox, his father-in-law, with no fewer than twenty-four other lords and gentlemen, who were friends and favourers of his family, to be arreſted⁵⁵. All theſe priſoners were ſoon ſet at liberty, except the duke, his two ſons, and his father-in-law, the earl of Lenox, who were conducted to Stirling, where they were tried, condemned, and executed, May 24; but for what crimes we are not informed. Their trial, however, was conducted with great ſolemnity, and ſeveral lords ſat as their judges, who were their near relations, and had been lately impriſoned as their friends; which makes it probable that their condemnation was not unjuſt⁵⁶.

Infurrec-
tion.

James, the youngeſt ſon of the duke of Albany, made his eſcape from this general wreck of his family; and having collected a band of deſperate followers, which in thoſe times was not difficult, he

⁵⁴ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 9.

⁵⁵ Id. c. 10. Bowmaker, the contemporary hiſtorian, it muſt be confeſſed, is a very unſafe guide, being a careleſs, ill-informed writer, who ſeems to have written from his memory. In the liſt of theſe lords, he names Alexander Seaton lord Gordon, who, we know with certainty, was then a priſoner in the caſtle of York. Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 349.

⁵⁶ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 10.

burnt

burnt the town of Dumbarton, and there killed sir **John Stewart** of Dundonald, the king's natural uncle, with thirty-two of his men. But the king having sent some forces in pursuit of the insurgents, the lord James, with his tutor, Finlaw bishop of Argyle, fled into Ireland, where they both died⁵⁷. Three of his natural sons, Andrew, Arthur, and Walter, long after came into Scotland, were legitimated by their relation, James III. A. D. 1479, and loaded with wealth and honours⁵⁸.

A. D. 1425.

By the annexation of the castles and estates of the Albany family to the crown, king James acquired a considerable addition both of power and wealth, which enabled him to act with greater authority, and to live with greater splendour. The birth of his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, about the beginning of A. D. 1425, added to his felicity⁵⁹.

James's prosperity.

King James convened his parliament at Perth, March 11, A. D. 1426, in which many excellent laws were made, which set both the wisdom and patriotism of this prince in the fairest point of view⁶⁰. But in that state of society it was very difficult, if not impossible, to execute some of these laws, especially in the highlands.

A. D. 1426.
Parliament.

King James, knowing that his presence was necessary to give authority to his laws in the uncivilized parts of his dominions, commanded the castle of Inverness to be repaired, and kept his court in it, in summer A. D. 1427, to which he invited all

A. D. 1427.
James at Inverness.

⁵⁷ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 10.

⁵⁸ Annot. in Buchan. p. 438.

⁵⁹ Scoticon. lib. 26. c. 11.

⁶⁰ Black Acts, Parliament 3,

James I.

the

A. D. 1427.

the chieftains in the neighbouring counties, received them with great civility, and entertained them with great hospitality, without expressing any dissatisfaction at the disorders which had reigned in those parts. The report of this behaviour encouraged those who had been most guilty to come to the castle, to partake of the royal entertainments. But, when about fifty of them were in the castle, the king commanded the gates to be shut, and made them all prisoners. Three of the most noted robbers, Alexander Macrory, John Macarture, and James Campbell, the leaders of numerous bands of plunderers, were put to death; others were committed to different prisons; and those who were most innocent, or rather least guilty, were dismissed with suitable admonitions⁶¹. On this occasion, the king, it is said, pronounced the following Latin lines:

Ad turrem fortem ducamus cauté cohortem
Per Christi fortem, meruerunt hi quia mortem.

Earl of
Ross im-
prisoned.

Alexander lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, and his mother, were among those who were made prisoners at this time. But after the earl had been detained a few weeks, he was admonished by the king to behave in a more orderly and submissive manner for the future than he had done formerly, and then set at liberty⁶². Alexander, as we shall soon see, paid little regard to the royal admonition.

A. D. 1428.
Treaty
with
France.

Charles VII. king of France, being reduced to great distress by the success of the English arms, sent the archbishop of Rheims, and John Stewart,

⁶¹ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 15.

⁶² Id. *ibid*.

lord Darnley, who commanded the remains of the Scots army in France, into Scotland, A. D. 1428, to solicit succours from his ancient allies. The ambassadors, according to their instructions, proposed a marriage between the dauphin and the princess Margaret, James's eldest daughter, though they were both in their infancy. This marriage, after some opposition from those who favoured the English interest, was concluded on the following terms—That the young princess should be sent into France, with an army of 6000 men for her fortune—that she should be married to the dauphin when of a proper age—that if she came to be queen of France, she should have as large a dowry as any former queen—if she was only dauphiness, she should have a dowry of 15,000 livres—with various other articles, all very favourable to the princess. To observe and fulfil this treaty, king James, his queen, and chief nobility, took a solemn oath before the French ambassadors, July 27, A. D. 1428; and Charles took a similar oath in October, before ambassadors from Scotland. Still further to attach the king of Scotland to his interest, Charles granted to that prince, and his heirs-male, in November the same year, the earldom of Xaintonge and lordship of Rochfort, with the privilege of paying their homage by proxy⁶³.

The English ministers, having received intelligence of this treaty, became apprehensive of a breach with Scotland, which at that time would have been very inconvenient. To prevent this,

A. D. 1428.

A. D. 1429.
Interview
with the
cardinal of
Winchester.

⁶³ Villar, tom. 14. p. 369. Scotichron. lib. 16. c. 23.

Henry

A. D. 1429. Henry Beaufort, the rich cardinal of Winchester, who was uncle to the queen of Scotland, had a personal interview with king James, at Durham, in the beginning of A. D. 1429; in which, it is probable, he prevailed upon him to keep the truce with England, and to delay sending the princess his daughter, and the stipulated succours, into France for some time⁶⁴. It is at least certain, that the princess and these succours were not sent till some years after.

Infurrec-
tion sup-
press'd.

Alexander lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, ever since he was set at liberty, had been meditating revenge for the affront of his imprisonment; and having collected all his strength, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, but failed in his attempt upon the castle. The king, having raised an army with great expedition, pursued the earl into Lochaber, defeated and dispersed his army, June 23, A. D. 1429, and obliged him to fly to the Isles. There he remained some time, uncertain whether to retire into Ireland, or to throw himself on the king's mercy. At length he adopted this last measure, came privately to Edinburgh about the beginning of A. D. 1430, threw himself on his knees before the king, as he was at his devotion in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, and implored his mercy. The king at first seemed disposed to treat him with severity; but, at the earnest intreaty of the queen, who was present, he granted him his life, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Tantallon⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Rym. Fœd. t. 10. p. 408.

⁶⁵ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 16.

The defeat and imprisonment of the earl of Ross did not immediately restore tranquillity to the highlands and islands, whose inhabitants, in those times, were exceedingly fierce and turbulent. A chieftain named Donald Balloch, nearly related to the imprisoned earl, having collected the friends and followers of the family, invaded the continent, surprised the earls of Mar and Caithness, slew the latter, and obliged the former to save himself by flight. Elated by this success, he destroyed the country with fire and sword; but on the approach of the king at the head of an army, he was abandoned by his followers, of whom 300 were taken and hanged. Donald made his escape into Ireland, where he was soon after killed, and his head sent to the king⁶⁶.

A. D. 1430
Another
insurrec-
tion.

In the midst of those tumults, the queen was delivered of two sons, at Holyroodhouse, October 16, A. D. 1430, who were soon after named Alexander and James. The king knighted the two young princes at the font, and with them a considerable number of young noblemen and gentlemen of the best families⁶⁷. Prince Alexander died in his infancy, but James survived, and succeeded his father.

Birth of
two
princes.

As the truce between England and Scotland was now near expiring, the council of England granted a commission, January 24, A. D. 1430, to the bishops of Durham and Salisbury, Henry earl of Northumberland, the lords Scroope and Greytokes, and four others, to treat with certain commissioners

Truce
with Eng-
land.

⁶⁶ Scoticon. lib. 16. c. 16.

⁶⁷ Id. ibid.

A.D. 1430.

from Scotland, about prolonging the expiring truce, making a new truce, or concluding a final and perpetual peace, by the intervention of marriage, or any other honourable means⁶⁸. From hence it is highly probable, that the English council had instructed their commissioners to endeavour to persuade king James to break his engagements with the dauphin, and give his daughter in marriage to the young king of England. But in that attempt, if they made it, they did not succeed. After a tedious negotiation, a truce for five years was concluded, December 15, A. D. 1430, to commence May 1, A. D. 1431 (when the former truce ended), and to continue to May 1, A. D. 1436⁶⁹. By a remarkable article in this treaty, it is provided, that if either of the kings sent troops to the assistance of an enemy of the other king, that other king might seize them in going or returning, or destroy them when they were in the service of his enemy⁷⁰. This uncommon article was certainly inserted at the requisition of the king of Scotland, that he might be at liberty to send the stipulated succours, with the princess his daughter, into France.

A.D. 1431.

Wife po-
licy of
James.

From the moment of king James's return into Scotland, he seems to have had two great objects in view—1. to recover and increase the domains of the crown—2. to establish the authority of the laws, and reduce all his subjects to order and obedience. In both these designs (which were as difficult as they were necessary) he had now made considerable

⁶⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 448.

⁶⁹ Id. ibid. p. 482, &c.

⁷⁰ Id. ibid. p. 490. by mistake of the printer, for 486.

progress;

progress; but he had still much to do, and proceeded with great wisdom and spirit. To deliver the country, particularly the north, from those numerous bands of fierce and lawless plunderers with which it was infested, he wisely encouraged their mutual feuds, and employed one of them to destroy another. The clan Chattan almost extirpated the clan Cameron on Palm Sunday, A. D. 1430; and the year after, two famous robbers, Angus Duff and Angus Murray, at the head of their several bands, fought a kind of pitched battle in Strathnaver, with such implacable fury, that only nine survived of both troops, though at the beginning of the action they had consisted of several hundreds".

A. D. 1431.

After the conclusion of the truce with England, and the destruction of those plunderers, Scotland enjoyed a considerable degree of peace and prosperity for several years. The king, not contented with the estates of the family of Albany, which he had annexed to the crown, began to lay claim to some others, particularly to that of George Dunbar earl of March, which had been forfeited by the earl's father, but had been restored by the regent Robert duke of Albany, and peaceably enjoyed by the present possessor above twenty years. The ground on which the king claimed that estate was this—that the regent had not power to pardon a traitor, or restore a forfeited estate. The king brought that affair before a parliament, which met at Perth, January 10, A. D. 1435. The parliament appointed the following members to be a

A. D. 1435.
Earldom
of March
forfeited.

71 Scotcheron. l. 16. c. 17.

A.D. 1435.

committee, to hear parties, examine evidence, form an opinion, and report, viz. the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm, John Stewart provost of Methven, Robert Stewart of Lorn, Thomas Sommerville of Sommerville, Walter Halyburton, John Spens of Perth, Thomas Chalmers of Aberdeen, and James Parkley of Linlithgow. The committee having heard the advocates for both parties, and maturely deliberated on the whole affair, laid an opinion before the parliament; which being adopted, the following sentence was pronounced:—"That in consequence of the forfeiture of George Dunbar, late earl of March, the earldom of March belonged to the king⁷²." It is highly probable that the king was provoked to this severity by the discovery of a suspicious intercourse between the earl of Dunbar and the English council, of which some evidences are still remaining⁷³.

King resumes the earldom of Strathearn.

King James about the same time resumed the earldom of Strathearn, on this ground, that it had been granted by Robert II. to David his eldest son by his second marriage, as a male-fief, which should revert to the crown on the failure of heirs-male. David had left only one daughter, married to Sir Patrick Graham of the family of Kincardin, who enjoyed the title and estate of Strathearn to his death, and was succeeded in both by his son Malice, from whom they were now resumed. As Malice was the king's near relation, and had been a hostage for him in England, he granted him the earldom of

⁷² Black Acts, f. 23.
p. 623. 628.

⁷³ Vide Rym. Fœd. tom. 10.

Monteith,

Monteith, to make him some amends for the loss he had sustained. But this did not satisfy his uncle Robert Graham, a man of strong, or rather furious passions, who meditated a severe revenge.

A. D. 1435.

It is difficult to discover the reasons why the princess of Scotland, and the stipulated succours, had not been sent to France long before this time, according to the original treaty. It is probable however, that this delay was by mutual consent, as it did not occasion any breach between the contracting parties. It is even probable that some part of the succours had been sent in small bodies to escape the English. In the beginning of A. D. 1435, ambassadors arrived from France, to solicit the full accomplishment of the treaty; and not long after the lord Scroope came ambassador from England to negotiate a perpetual peace between the two British nations, to be cemented by a marriage between the king of England and the princess of Scotland. To succeed in this negotiation, he made the most tempting offers of giving up Berwick and Roxburgh, and all the lands in debate between the two kingdoms. King James laid this important affair before his parliament, in which it occasioned warm debates for two days. The chief speakers in favour of adhering to the French alliance, were the abbots of Scoone and Inchcolm; and the great advocate for the alliance with England, was John Fogo, abbot of Melros. One of the disputants hath preserved the principal arguments on both sides, and they are really ingenious⁷⁴. At last the

Debate in parliament.

⁷⁴ Scotichron. l. 16. c. 23.

A.D. 1435.

French interest prevailed, and all the offers of England were rejected, which drew threats from lord Scroope, that the English would intercept the princess on her voyage⁷⁵.

A.D. 1436.

Marriage.

Undismayed by these threats, James, having prepared a fleet of nine great ships, sent away his daughter, attended by a splendid train of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, with about a thousand troops. The English fleet that put to sea to intercept this small squadron, was defeated by the Castilians, and the Scots arrived safe at Rochelle, in the spring of A. D. 1436; and about two months after the princess was married to the dauphin, at Tours, June 25, with great pomp⁷⁶.

Action at
Pepperdin.

The rejection of the English proposals produced hostilities between the two nations at the expiration of the truce, May 1, A. D. 1436. Soon after, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, at the head of 4000 men, was met by William Douglas earl of Angus, attended by an equal number of his followers, at Pepperdin near Chiviot, where a fierce encounter ensued, in which many brave men were killed on both sides⁷⁷.

Siege of
Roxburgh.

King James, having spent the summer in raising an army, invested Roxburgh about the beginning of August, and pushed the siege with great vigour. But when the place was on the point of surrendering, it was relieved in a very extraordi-

⁷⁵ Scotiecron. l. 16. c. 23.

⁷⁶ Id. ibid. c. 12. Annotat. in Buchan. p. 439.

⁷⁷ Scotiecron. l. 16. c. 25. Abercrom. vol. 2. p. 299. This is probably the action celebrated in the famous ballad of Chiviot-chace.

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nary manner. The queen arrived in the camp by hasty journies, and acquainted the king, that a plot was formed against his life, of which she could discover no particulars. James, knowing that many of his barons were secretly dissatisfied with his measures, was seized with a panic, and without allowing himself time to reflect, instantly disbanded his army, and retired with great precipitation to his favourite residence, the Carthusian monastery at Perth, which he had lately founded⁷⁸.

A. D. 1436.

In this place, James, not knowing whom to trust, lived in greater privacy than was suitable to his station, or consistent with his safety, which facilitated the execution of the plot against him. This plot was formed by so few, that it was kept with impenetrable secrecy; and the principal persons concerned in it were so nearly connected with the king by the ties of blood, that they were not in the least suspected. Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle, was the chief conspirator, infatuated, as it is most probable, by a vain hope, and blind ambition, of obtaining the crown. He easily engaged in it his own grandson and heir, Robert Stewart, who resided at court, and was in favour with the king; and Robert Graham, uncle to the earl of Strathern, a desperate discontented man, who was capable of the most atrocious deeds. Graham came to Perth, attended by seven of his

A. D. 1437.
The king
murdered.

⁷⁸ Buchan. l. 10. p. 195. The account given of this siege by Bowmaker, a contemporary historian, is perfectly absurd and incredible. Scoticon. l. 16. c. 26.

A.D. 1437.

most resolute followers, after it was dark, on February 20, A. D. 1437, and was secretly admitted with them into the palace by Robert Stewart. As the king and queen were at supper in profound security, with very few attendants, Walter Straton, a cupbearer, going out of the room to bring some wine, discovered armed men in the passage, and gave the alarm, by crying, Traitors! Traitors! But it was too late. Having instantly dispatched Straton, they rushed into the king's apartment with their swords drawn. The queen, attempting to screen her beloved consort, was wounded, and torn away; after which the king was cruelly slain and mangled by no fewer than twenty-eight wounds⁷⁹.

His character.

Thus fell James I. in the thirty-second year of his reign from his father's death, and the thirteenth from his coronation, and the forty-fourth year of his age, by the hands of barbarous and cruel assassins. It is impossible to enumerate and describe the various virtues and accomplishments of this prince, without greatly exceeding the bounds commonly allowed to characters in history. But I may be the shorter on those subjects in this place, because I shall have occasion to consider his accomplishments as a legislator, philosopher, poet, musician, and artist, in the subsequent chapters of this book. In his person he was rather below the middle size, but uncommonly strong, and no less agile and active. "His bones (says a contemporary historian, who was familiarly ac-

⁷⁹ Scoticon. l. 16. c. 27. Buchan. l. 10. p. 196.

"quainted

“ acquainted with him) were so great, and his joints
 “ so firm, that he challenged the biggest and
 “ strongest men to wrestle, and dreaded nothing
 “ so much as that they should remember he was
 “ a king, when they were engaged with him in
 “ these struggles. He putted the stone, and
 “ threw the melle, further than any other man; he
 “ was an admirable archer, and excelled in run-
 “ ning, riding, tilting, and every martial and
 “ manly exercise⁸⁰.” But the virtues of his mind
 were still more conspicuous than the perfections of
 his body. He was eminently pious, according to
 the mode of the times in which he flourished; and
 though he blamed his ancestor St. David for build-
 ing monasteries, he could not abstain from imitat-
 ing his example⁸¹. No prince was ever a greater
 lover of justice, which he executed with the most
 intrepid impartiality upon the greatest, when they
 injured the meanest of his subjects⁸². Though he
 was naturally brave and warlike, he cultivated
 peace with all his neighbours, as that was necessary
 to the execution of the designs he had formed for
 the improvement of his dominions, and civiliza-
 tion of his subjects. He was a fond husband, an
 affectionate parent, an indulgent master, an agree-
 able companion, and, in a word, one of the best
 men and greatest princes that ever reigned in Scot-
 land.

Though many of his subjects did not relish the
 strictness of James's government, and some of

Punish-
 ment of
 the assas-
 sins.

⁸⁰ Scoticon. l. 16. c. 28.

⁸¹ Id. ibid. c. 18.

⁸² Id. ibid. c. 28.

A.D. 1457.

them had suffered in their fortunes by his resumption of the crown-lands, yet as soon as the news of his death reached them, their complaints were all suppressed, and nothing was heard but their lamentations. They discovered the warmth of their esteem and love to their murdered sovereign, by the ardour with which they pursued, and the severity with which they punished, his murderers, none of whom escaped the fate they merited. The two chief conspirators, the earl of Athol and Robert Graham, endured a variety of tortures for three days, which are too shocking to be related; and yet so desperate a spirit had the last of these, that, being asked in the midst of his tortures, How he dared to kill the king? he replied, "I dare to leap from the highest heaven into the lowest hell".

His issue.

James I. left one son, of his own name; and five daughters, viz. Margaret, married to the dauphin of France; Isabel, to Francis duke of Brittany; Jean, successively to the earls of Angus, Huntly, and Morton; Helénor, to Sigismund duke of Austria; and Mary, to John lord of Campvere and Zealand.

*1 Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 308, 309.

SECTION II.

From the accession of James II. to the accession of James III. A. D. 1460.

JAMES II. was only six years and four months old at the death of his illustrious father, and was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, March 20, A. D. 1437, being the first day of a parliament which met at Edinburgh for the trial of the regicides and the settlement of the administration during the king's minority. Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was by far the most powerful subject in Scotland, was appointed lieutenant of the kingdom; and the custody of the king's person, and the administration of the civil government, were committed to sir Alexander Livingston of Callender, and sir William Crichton of Crichton, two gentlemen who had been much esteemed and employed by the late king¹.

A. D. 1437.

James II.

Though no truce subsisted at this time between England and Scotland, there was a total cessation of hostilities, neither of them being in a condition to molest the other. To secure the continuance of this tranquillity, which was equally beneficial to both nations, a commission was granted by king James II. November 30, A. D. 1437, to the lords Gordon and Montgomery, John Methven provost of Lyncluden, and John Vause, Esq; to

Truce
with Eng-
land.

¹ Black A&S, f. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 319. Annot. in Buchan. p. 440.

A. D. 1438.

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negotiate a truce with commissioners of the king of England. Conferences were accordingly held on that subject at London, and a truce concluded, March 31, A. D. 1438, for nine years, viz. from the 1st of May in that year, to the 1st of May A. D. 1447².

Confusions
arise,

Archibald duke of Touraine and earl of Douglas, who was the first of the Scots conservators of this truce, died about three months after it was made; and soon after his death, all things fell into confusion³. This was partly owing to the youthful arrogance of his son and successor, William earl of Douglas, and partly to the violent discord that arose between the governor Livingstone and the chancellor Crichton, who were men of abilities, but exceedingly ambitious and interested, each striving to supplant the other, and ingross all the power and emoluments of administration. The chancellor had possession of the king's person and the castle of Edinburgh, while the governor resided with the queen-mother in the castle of Stirling; and whatever edicts the one published, the other contradicted; and whoever obeyed the one was punished by the other; which threw the country into great confusion⁴.

A. D. 1439.

The king
brought to
Stirling.

The queen-mother, who was a princess of great address, came from Stirling to Edinburgh, with a small train, to visit her son, and inquire after his health. The chancellor could not with decency refuse her admittance to the castle; and she be-

² Rym. Fœd. tom. 10. p. 688—695.

³ Hume of Godscroft, p. 144.

⁴ Buchan, lib. 11. Pittscottie, p. 2, 3.

haved

haved to him with so much affability, and made so many professions of esteem and good-will, that he entertained no suspicion of any ill design. When her plot was ripe for execution, she told the chancellor that she designed to go on pilgrimage to the White Kirk of Buchan, to pray for the health and prosperity of her son; and that she would carry nothing with her but two chests, containing her clothes and a few necessaries. The king, with his own consent, was placed in one of these chests, conveyed out of the castle to Leith, and put on board a ship, in which the queen immediately set sail for Stirling; where she was received by the governor at her landing, and with her son conducted into the castle, amidst the loud acclamations of the people⁵.

A. D. 1439.

The governor, having the king in his possession, determined to push his advantage against his rival as far as possible. With this view, he summoned a kind of parliament, or great council of his partisans, probably that which met at Stirling, March 13, A. D. 1439, in which an act was made against such as held out castles against the king⁶. In this council it was proposed, and at last resolved, to besiege the chancellor in the castle of Edinburgh; and the queen, to encourage them to engage in that enterprise, promised to furnish the army with meal during the siege⁷.

Council at Stirling.

The chancellor, foreseeing the approaching storm, sent a messenger to the earl of Douglas, to

Message to the earl of Douglas.

⁵ Pitfcottie, p. 3. Buchan. lib. 11. p. 198.⁶ Black Acts, f. 26. p. 2.⁷ Pitfcottie, p. 5.

implore

A. D. 1439.

implort his protection and aid against the governor. Our historians in general say, that this message was sent to Archibald earl of Douglas: but that is hardly possible; at least, it is much more probable that it was to his son William. The answer, too, was like that of a haughty, impetuous young man, viz. "That he was glad two such knaves had quarrelled, and hoped they would destroy one another".

Reconciliation between the governor and chancellor.

Soon after the chancellor had received this answer, he found himself invested in the castle of Edinburgh, and in danger of falling into the hands of his enemies. To prevent this, he found means to send a message to the governor, expressing a desire to have a conversation with him, in which he had something to communicate that was equally interesting to them both. To this the governor agreed; and after the necessary precautions for their common safety, they had a meeting, in which the chancellor communicated the answer he had received from the earl of Douglas, and convinced the governor, that if they persisted to weaken one another, that common enemy would destroy them both. This produced a reconciliation. The chancellor delivered the keys of the castle to the king, who immediately returned them to him, according to agreement, received him into favour, and restored him to his office of chancellor, of which he had been deprived. After this transaction, the governor conducted the young king back again to Stirling castle.

* Pittcottie, p. 5.

* Id. p. 7.

During the contest between the chancellor and governor, the reins of government were so much relaxed, that the whole country was a scene of anarchy and confusion, in which thefts, robberies, and murders were committed with impunity. Sir Thomas Boyde of Kilmarnock slew Allan Stewart, lord Darnley, at Polmont-thorn, between Falkirk and Linlithgow, in October A. D. 1438. This produced a family feud, and a pitched battle was fought July 22, A. D. 1439, in which the Boydes were defeated and sir Thomas slain¹⁰. William earl of Douglas having succeeded, A. D. 1438, to the great power and possessions of his father, both in France and Scotland, when he was hardly fifteen years of age, became wanton with prosperity, affected independency, and encouraged his vassals, particularly in Annandale, to plunder those parts of the country that were not under his jurisdiction¹¹. The farmers, in many places, enjoyed so little security, that the lands were left uncultivated, a dreadful famine ensued, followed by a plague, which carried off those who were seized with it in a few hours¹². In a word, few countries were ever in a more wretched condition than Scotland was in the minority of James II.; so much did it suffer by the cruel murder of James I.

A. D. 1439.

Deplorable state of Scotland.

Though the governor had a great advantage in possessing the person of the king, he was not without difficulties. His great friend and patroness,

A. D. 1440.

The queen confined.

¹⁰ Buchan. lib. 21. p. 206. ¹¹ Id. ibid.

¹² Scotieon. tom. 3. p. 514. edit. Edin. 1759.

the

A. D. 1440.

the queen-mother, had fallen in love with and married sir James Stewart, brother to the lord Lorn; and both she and her husband being much offended that he was not admitted into a share of the administration, entered into a correspondence with the earl of Douglas. The governor, having discovered this correspondence, acted with great spirit. He threw sir James Stewart and his brother lord Lorn into prison, confined the queen to her apartment in the castle of Stirling, and did not set them at liberty till they had given ample security for their future good behaviour¹¹.

The king
carried off
from Stir-
ling.

In the mean time, the chancellor was far from being satisfied with his situation. He was allowed indeed to live quietly in the castle of Edinburgh, but was seldom consulted, and saw his rival possessing all places of power and profit, or bestowing them upon his friends. He therefore formed a plot to recover the advantages he had lost. By his spies he was informed, that the young king was permitted to take the diversion of hunting in the park of Stirling, with a few attendants. Having privately convened about a hundred of his most trusty friends, well mounted and armed, they set out in small parties from different places near Edinburgh, after it was dark, and met at the place appointed, in the park of Stirling, early next morning. To their agreeable surprise, the king entered the park soon after, attended only by a few followers. The chancellor rode up to the king, and in a soothing speech endeavoured to persuade him

¹¹ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 20 Pitcottie, p. 8.

that

that he came to set him at liberty, and to conduct him to any place he pleased. Sir Alexander Livingston, the governor's eldest son, restrained his friends from making any opposition, and the king was conducted to the castle of Edinburgh¹⁴.

A.D. 1440.

Livingston
and Crichton recon-
ciled.

When the governor returned to Stirling in the evening, he was almost distracted with rage and grief. In the first transports of his anger, he entertained some thoughts of joining with the earl of Douglas to procure revenge. But he soon became sensible of the folly and danger of trusting himself in the hands of a passionate young man, who hated him, and had many desperate ruffians about him, capable of any villany. After revolving many things in his mind, and consulting with his wisest confidants, he determined to sacrifice his resentment to his safety, and to attempt a reconciliation with his rival. He accordingly went to Edinburgh, attended only by a few friends, and by the mediation of the bishops of Aberdeen and Moray, obtained a meeting with the chancellor, in the church of St. Giles. At this meeting, being both fully convinced that their preservation depended on their union, a more sincere and hearty reconciliation than the former took place; to which nothing contributed so much as their dread of the earl of Douglas. By this agreement, the king was to remain with the chancellor, and the governor to retain all the authority and emoluments of his place¹⁵.

¹⁴ Buchan, lib. 11. p. 201.¹⁵ Id. ibid.

Imme-

A.D. 1440:

Earl of
Douglas
killed.

Immediately after this agreement, a parliament was called to meet at Edinburgh, A. D. 1440, to which great numbers of people crowded, with complaints against the earl of Douglas and his retainers. The parliament did not think it prudent to proceed with a high hand against that potent earl, which would have produced a civil war; but sent him a soothing letter, entreating him and his friends to come and take their seats in parliament, and that share in the administration of affairs to which they were intitled. Pleased with this respectful invitation, the earl, accompanied by his only brother lord David, and his chief confident sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, set out for Edinburgh with a splendid retinue. The chancellor met him on the way, invited him to his castle of Crichton, entertained him in the most sumptuous manner, and made him so many flattering professions of esteem and friendship, that he slighted all the admonitions of his friends, who entreated him to be upon his guard, and to send back his brother into the country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was received with the most flattering marks of distinction, conducted by the chancellor, with the lord David, his brother, and sir Malcolm Fleming, into the castle, to dine with the king. But when they were seated at the royal table, they were suddenly seized by armed men, dragged out of the king's presence, and after a very summary trial, as is most probable, or without any trial, as many authors affirm, they were all three beheaded, November 24, in the court of
the

the castle¹⁶: a most horrid, inhospitable, and cruel deed, which merits the execration of posterity!

A.D. 1440.

By the death, or rather the murder, of the young earl of Douglas and his brother, the great estates of that family were divided; their uncle, James lord of Abercorn, succeeding to the earldom of Douglas, and their only sister Margaret, commonly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, to all the unentailed estates of Annandale, Galloway, Ormond, &c.¹⁷ James earl of Douglas, called *The Gross*, being old and indolent, did not attempt to revenge the murder of his nephews, or disturb the peace of his country. But his life and that peace were both of short duration. He died at Abercorn, March 24, A. D. 1443, and was succeeded by his eldest son William, who married his cousin Margaret, the Fair Maid of Galloway, and thereby reunited the great estates of the family, and became as formidable as any of his predecessors¹⁸.

A.D. 1443.
Earls of
Douglas.

William earl of Douglas, elated by his power and opulence, for some time paid little or no regard to the authority of his king, or the laws of his country; but rather encouraged and protected robbers, plunderers, and disorderly persons, out of hatred to the lords Livingston and Crichton, who

A.D. 1444.
Earl of
Douglas in
favour.

¹⁶ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 203. Annot. p. 440. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 322.—331. Hawthornden, p. 22. Pitcottie, p. 17.

¹⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310.

¹⁸ Godscroft, p. 157—159. This author, and other historians, call this lady Beatrix, which was unquestionably the name of this earl William's mother, and not of his wife, who was called Margaret. Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310.

had

A.D. 1444.

had the chief direction of affairs, and with a view to bring them into contempt. But after the king had reached his fourteenth year, and began to interfere in the choice of his servants and the management of affairs, the earl changed his plan of policy, but not his views. Being assured by his friends, that he would meet with a favourable reception, he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by a numerous retinue of his friends and vassals, and, falling on his knees before the king, made the most solemn professions of the most inviolable loyalty. He was well received; and in a little time, by his engaging, submissive behaviour to the young king, and his liberality to the courtiers, he became the great favourite of both¹⁹.

A.D. 1445.
Livingston
and Crichton
proscribed.

The lords Livingston and Crichton, observing the increasing favour of their too powerful enemy, resigned their offices, and retired from court; the former to his house of Callender, and the latter to the castle of Edinburgh, of which he had the custody. But the earl of Douglas, now in the full possession of all the power of the state, determined not to suffer his enemies to escape so easily; and, by his influence, they were both denounced rebels, and their estates confiscated, by a parliament that met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445, and from thence adjourned to Edinburgh. While the king, or rather the earl of Douglas, besieged the castle of Edinburgh, he employed his friends in executing the sentence against the two proscribed lords, by seizing their lands and castles; in which they met

¹⁹ Buchan, lib. 11. p. 204.

with

with so much opposition and retaliation, that the country became a scene of slaughter and devastation. The lord Livingston, sir Alexander his eldest son, sir Robert Livingston treasurer, sir David Livingston, sir James Dundas of Dundas, and sir Robert Bruce of Clackmanan, were apprehended. Lord Livingston, sir James Dundas, and sir Robert Bruce, saved their lives by a liberal well-directed distribution of their lands and money, but the other three were condemned and executed²⁰.

A.D. 1445.

The castle of Edinburgh was bravely defended; and the earl of Douglas, despairing of taking it by force, entered into a negotiation with the late chancellor; who, upon obtaining a full pardon, with the restoration of his estates and honours, ratified by parliament, surrendered it to the king²¹. The parliament that ratified this capitulation met at Perth, July 14, A. D. 1445; and was from thence adjourned to Edinburgh, to finish that transaction. The lord Crichton was seemingly reconciled to the earl of Douglas, and restored to the office of chancellor; but, distrusting the sincerity of that reconciliation, he appeared as little at court as possible²².

Lord Crichton restored.

The queen-mother, and her husband sir James Stewart, called the *Black Knight of Lorn*, having lived several years neglected and discontented, the

Queen's death.

²⁰ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 206. Hawthornden, p. 23, &c. Pitcottie, p. 20, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 334.

²¹ Scotichron. lib. 16. p. 515. Pitcottie, p. 23.

²² Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32.

A.D. 1445. died in July A. D. 1445, leaving three sons by her second husband, viz. John, who was made earl of Athol A. D. 1455; James, who was made earl of Buchan A. D. 1469; and Andrew, who became bishop of Moray. Sir James Stewart had spoken with so much asperity of those in power, that he did not think himself safe in Scotland after the queen's death, and obtained a safe-conduct, from Henry VI. November 24, A. D. 1445.²³ The same prince granted him a protection, November 22, A. D. 1447, to reside in England four years, with his two sons, John and James; and another safe-conduct, August 17, A. D. 1451, for himself, his two sons, six other gentlemen, and twenty servants²⁴. The time and manner of his death are not certainly known.

A. D. 1446. While the earl of Douglas possessed the favour of the king and the direction of affairs, he did not neglect himself, his family, and friends. He was constituted lord lieutenant of the kingdom, which was thought to be a less offensive name than that of regent or governor.—One of his brothers, Archibald, was made earl of Moray;—another of them, Hugh, earl of Ormond;—and a third, John, lord Balveny²⁵. In a word, no family in Scotland ever possessed so much power and territory as that of Douglas did at this time. But neither power nor riches can secure permanent prosperity.

²³ Crawford's Officers of State, p. 32. Rym. Foed. tom. 11. p. 107.

²⁴ Id. ibid. p. 192. 301.

²⁵ Godscroft, p. 160. Pitcottie, p. 25.

King

King James being now about eighteen years of age, and having no brothers, it was thought proper that he should be married as soon as possible. A commission was therefore granted at Stirling, May 6, A. D. 1448, to the lord Crichton, chancellor, John bishop of Dunkeld, Andrew abbot of Melrofs, George lord Seaton, Nicholas Otterton, canon of Glasgow, Thomas Cranston, esq; and John Dalrymple, bailie of Edinburgh, to go into France to renew the ancient alliance with that crown, and provide a suitable consort for their sovereign²⁶. These ambassadors obtained a safe-conduct to pass through England, with fifty persons in their company, dated April 23, A. D. 1448²⁷. On their arrival at the court of France, they renewed the ancient alliances between the two kingdoms; but not finding in that country a proper match for their king, Charles VII. recommended Mary, daughter of Anthony duke of Guelder and Cleve, and by her mother, granddaughter of John duke of Burgundy, a princess young and beautiful, and of an heroic spirit. The commissioners found no difficulty in concluding the contract of marriage, and conducting the princess into Scotland. She was married to the king in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, in June A. D. 1449²⁸.

A. D. 1448.

The king married.

A. D. 1449.

While these commissioners were negotiating the king's marriage abroad, the truce which should

Military operations.

²⁶ Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 338.

²⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 213.

²⁸ Annot. in Buchan. p. 441. Hawthornidell, p. 26.

A. D. 1449.

have subsisted between the two British kingdoms till May 1, A. D. 1454, was violated, by mutual incursions on the borders²⁹. The occasion of these incursions is not well known; but it is most probable that they proceeded from some personal or family feuds, rather than from any national quarrel. The English appear to have been the aggressors. The earl of Northumberland, warden of the east marches, invaded Scotland on that side, and burnt Dunbar; while the earl of Salisbury, warden of the west marches, made an incursion on his quarter, and burnt Dumfries. But these injuries were soon retaliated by the lord Balveny, who burnt Alnwick, and desolated the open country. To revenge these injuries, the earl of Northumberland raised a numerous army, with which he invaded Scotland. But he was not permitted to proceed far: for being met by a Scotch army, commanded by Hugh earl of Ormond, at the river Sark, in Annandale, a bloody battle was fought, in which the English were defeated, with the loss of 3000 men. The earl of Northumberland escaped with great difficulty; but his son lord Piercy, sir John Pennington, sir Robert Harrington, and several other knights and gentlemen, were taken, and committed to the castle of Lochmaben. The Scots lost 600 men; among whom were few persons of note, except sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing³⁰.

²⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 58. ³⁰ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 208.
Pitcottie, p. 30. Hawthornden, p. 26. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 340.

But

But as this war was not agreeable to either of the British sovereigns, it was soon terminated by a short truce made at Winchester, July 10, A. D. 1449; which was prolonged by another concluded at Durham, September 17, in the same year³¹. These short truces must have been attended with much expence and trouble, as we sometimes find twenty plenipotentiaries of high rank employed in negotiating one of six weeks duration. At length a truce of an uncommon nature was made, November 15 of the same year, at Durham. It was not to continue for any limited time, but as long as it was agreeable to both parties to observe it; and when one of the parties intended to depart from it, he was bound to give a formal intimation of his intention to the other 180 days before he commenced hostilities³².

A.D. 1449.
Truces.

The family of Douglas was in the zenith of its power and prosperity at this time, two of the earl's brothers, the earl of Ormond and the lord Balveny, having gained great honour in the late war. But from this time too, the enormous greatness of that family began to decline. This was owing to various causes;—to the jealousy of the king,—the envy of the other nobles,—the hatred of the people,—but chiefly to the abuse of their power, by protecting the most abandoned of their retainers in all their villanies, and crushing all who dared to oppose them, or any of their followers. Of this it will be sufficient to give one

A.D. 1450.
Violence
of the earl
of Dou-
glas.

³¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 231. 238.

³² Id. ibid. p. 244.

A.D. 1450.

example. Sir Richard Colvill of Ochiltree happening to meet John Auchinleck of Auchinleck (a retainer of the earl of Douglas), from whom he had received many injuries, a quarrel ensued, and Auchinleck was killed. The earl of Douglas, instead of bringing sir Richard to a trial, first burnt and ruined every thing on his estate, then besieged and took his castle, and put him and all the men in it to the sword³³. Such outrageous acts of violence rendered this great earl an object of terror to all who were not under his protection³⁴.

Earl of
Douglas
visits
Rome.

This being the year of jubilee, the earl of Douglas, prompted by vanity or superstition, determined to visit Rome. Having committed the care of his affairs in Scotland to his brother John lord Balveny, he set out, accompanied by his eldest brother lord James Douglas, with several other lords, knights, and gentlemen, making an ostentatious display of his wealth and grandeur in the several countries through which he passed. When he approached Rome, he was met by a procession of the clergy and principal citizens, and conducted into the city in a kind of triumph³⁵.

Earl of
Douglas
prosecuted.

The affairs of this potent earl did not prosper so well in his native country. Soon after his departure, many complaints were made against him to the king and council, of injuries done, and cruelties committed, by him and his followers.

³³ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 209. ³⁴ Pitscottie, p. 33. ³⁵ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitscottie, p. 33. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 349.

The

The king on this occasion acted with great prudence and moderation, being probably influenced by the advice of his ancient counsellors, the lord Crichton and the lord Livingston, who had lately been made high justiciary. He summoned the lord Balveny to appear before him ; but that lord disregarding the summons, he was apprehended, and brought before the council ; and not being able to vindicate the earl, and several of his retainers, from the complaints brought against them, he was commanded to indemnify the sufferers out of the earl's rents, and the goods of the other delinquents ; and upon his promising to do this, he was set at liberty. But being encouraged by his two brothers, the earls of Ormond and Moray, he refused to perform his promise. The king then gave a commission to William Sinclair, earl of Orkney, to do what the lord Balveny had promised, and sent him into the earl of Douglas's countries with a few troops, to execute that commission. But he was every where resisted and insulted ; at which the king being justly irritated, he raised an army, besieged, took, and demolished the castle of Douglas, commanded the earl's rents, and the effects of the other delinquents, to be seized, and made restitution to the sufferers⁴⁶.

When the earl of Douglas received intelligence of these transactions, he hastened his return, and passed through England, under the protection of a safe-conduct from that court, 12th November

A.D. 1451.
Earl of
Douglas
returns.

⁴⁶ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 210. Pitcottie, p. 34.

A.D. 1451. A. D. 1450, for himself, and twenty other lords, knights, and gentlemen, in his company, with eighty other attendants³⁷. His intention seems to have been, to remain some time in England; for his safe-conduct contained a permission to him and his followers to reside in that kingdom three years³⁸. But finding that country in great confusion, and having received assurances from his friends in Scotland, that he would meet with a favourable reception from his own sovereign, he returned home about the beginning of A. D. 1451, went to court, was well received, and restored to all his estates and honours, on his engaging to behave as became a loyal subject, and no longer to obstruct the execution of justice on those who violated the laws. So perfectly was the king reconciled to this great earl at this time, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to settle certain points with those of England, for the better observation of the late truce; and he, with the other commissioners, obtained a safe-conduct from Henry VI. dated April 17, A. D. 1451, to come to Newcastle or Durham for that purpose³⁹.

The earl of Douglas obtains a protection in England.

It is highly probable, however, that this reconciliation was not very sincere on the part of the earl of Douglas, and that he secretly resolved to be revenged, if not on the king, at least on his ministers, for what had been done against him and his adherents in his absence. For when he was in England, vested with this commission from his

³⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 278.

³⁸ Id. *ibid*.

³⁹ Id. *ibid*. p. 283.

sove-

sovereign, he engaged in certain dark intrigues with that court, and obtained a protection, May 12, A. D. 1451, for himself, his three brothers, thirty other lords, knights, and gentlemen therein named, with sixty-seven persons, nobles or others, to reside in that kingdom; by which he provided an asylum for himself and his followers ⁴⁰.

A. D. 1451.

The indefinite truce that had been lately settled between the two British kingdoms being attended with some difficulties, another was concluded at Newcastle, August 14, A. D. 1451, to continue from that time to August 15, A. D. 1454, and as long after as it pleased both the kings ⁴¹.

Truce.

The earl of Douglas; after his return and reconciliation with the king, was very far from paying that respect to the authority of his sovereign and the laws of his country that he had promised; but, on the contrary, acted more like an independent and hostile sovereign than a subject. Besides his suspicious correspondence with the court of England—he entered into a bond with the earls of Crawford and Ross, and other noblemen, to stand by and assist each other against all men, in direct opposition to an act of parliament against such bonds ⁴²—his vassals of Annandale plundered the lands, and carried off the cattle, of the lord Hennis of Terregles; who having applied to the earl for redress in vain, raised his friends and tenants, and made an attempt to recover his property. But

Disloyal conduct of the earl of Douglas.

⁴⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 285.⁴¹ Id. ibid. p. 293.⁴² Black Acts, f. 6. c. 33.

being

A.D. 1451.

being overpowered and taken prisoner in that attempt, he was carried to the earl, who commanded him to be hanged as a common thief. With the same cruelty he put to death the chief of the Maclellans, a numerous clan in Galloway, who were not of his party⁴³. In a word, the earl of Douglas employed all his art and power to increase the number of his partisans, and destroy those who declined to be of that number.

A.D. 1452.
Earl of
Douglas
killed.

The king, equally irritated and alarmed at this conduct, summoned the earl to come to court; which he refused, unless a safe-conduct was granted him under the great seal. Though this was an uncommon requisition in a subject from his sovereign, it was complied with; on which he came to court, then at Stirling, attended by his brothers, and a numerous retinue of his friends and followers. He was well received, and invited to supper with the king in the castle. After supper, the king conducted the earl into another chamber, and entered into an expostulation with him concerning his late conduct, and particularly concerning the illegal bond into which he had entered with the earls of Crawford, Ross, and others, commanding him, in a peremptory tone, instantly to deliver it into his hands. The earl obstinately refusing to comply with this command, the king, in a transport of rage, drew his hanger, plunged it into the earl's heart, and laid him dead at his feet, February 22,

⁴³ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 211. Pitcottie, p. 37—40. Hawthornden, p. 28. Godscroft, p. 186—189.

A. D.

A. D. 1452⁴⁴: a rash, criminal, and cruel deed ! for which no excuse can be pleaded, but the king's youth and warmth of temper, and the many provocations he had received from his turbulent and too powerful subject.

A. D. 1452.

It is impossible to describe the fury of the Douglasses, when they were told the fate of their chief. As he died without issue, they acknowledged his next brother James, as earl of Douglas ; and, putting him at their head, proceeded to the market-cross of Stirling, and there proclaimed the king a perjured murderer, and an enemy to mankind ; sounding all the trumpets and horns in their army, to strike terror into the garrison of the castle. They tied the safe-conduct that had been granted to the late earl to a horse's tail, and dragged it through the streets, giving the king all the most opprobrious names they could devise. In the first transports of their rage, they proposed to attack the castle, and put the king and all within it to the sword : but finding that they were not prepared for such an undertaking, they retired from Stirling, after setting the town on fire in several places⁴⁵.

Rage of the Douglasses.

If all the families of the name of Douglas had been united at this time, the king would have been in the greatest danger. But the earl of Angus and the lord of Dalkeith were at variance with their chief, and the other families that adhered to him, and on that account they were the objects of their

Their misfortunes.

⁴⁴ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 212. Annot. p. 441. Pitcottie, p. 40, 41. Hawthornden, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Hawthornden, p. 29.

most

A. D. 1452.

most violent resentment, as being the firmest friends of the king. The earl of Douglas, therefore, after his departure from Stirling, burnt the town of Dalkeith, and besieged the castle; having sent his brother, Archibald earl of Moray, into the north against the earls of Angus and Huntly. But both these expeditions were unfortunate; the earl of Douglas being obliged to raise the siege of the castle of Dalkeith, and the earl of Moray being driven out of the north by the loyalists. The Douglasses sustained a still greater loss, by the defeat of their most powerful and zealous ally the earl of Crawford, by Alexander earl of Huntly, near Brechin, May 18, A. D. 1452⁴⁶.

Treaty
with Eng-
land.

James earl of Douglas sent his mother Beatrix, and Margaret his late brother's widow, into England, having obtained a protection for them from Henry VI.; and at the same time he sent certain proposals in writing to that prince, who approved of them, and granted a commission to several noblemen, June 3, A. D. 1452, to conclude a treaty with his most dear cousin, James earl of Douglas, agreeable to his proposals, and to admit him and his friends to perform liege homage, and take an oath of fealty, as English subjects⁴⁷. We know not the particulars of this treaty; but we may be almost certain, that the design of the earl of Douglas and his friends, in consenting to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, was

⁴⁶ Buchan. lib. 11. p. 213. Pitcottie, p. 42. Hawthornden, p. 32. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 357.

⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 310, 311.

to obtain assistance from that prince against their native sovereign. A.D. 1452.

But the earl of Douglas, discouraged by the ill success of his efforts at home, and despairing of any assistance from England, then in a most distracted state, soon began to think of an accommodation with the king. This accommodation was concluded, August 28, A. D. 1452, much sooner than could have been expected, from the rancour of the parties against each other. The earl of Douglas took a solemn oath, in his own name, and in the name of all his followers, to observe the following conditions—1. That he would lay no claim to the earldom of Wigton, without the permission of Mary queen of Scotland—2. That he would resign the lordship of Stewarton to the king, who might either keep or restore it to him as he pleased—3. That he and all his followers would lay aside any malice, hatred, or ill will, that they had conceived against any person or persons—4. That he and all his followers would live quietly and peaceably, as became good subjects, in all time to come—5. And that he would treat the king on all occasions with the highest respect and reverence. To the instrument containing these conditions, the seals of the earl of Douglas and of James lord Hamilton, his most zealous associate, were affixed⁴⁸. About the same time, or perhaps a little before, the earl of Crawford threw himself at the king's feet, and implored his mercy;

Pacifica-
tion.

⁴⁸ Annot. in Buchan. p. 442.

which,

A.D. 1452. which, at the intercession of that excellent prelate James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, he obtained; and was restored to his estate and honours⁴⁹.

A.D. 1453.
Truce. The king was so fully convinced of the sincerity of the earl of Douglas in his late submission, that he appointed him one of his plenipotentiaries to negotiate the prolongation of the truce with England, by a commission, dated April 18, A. D. 1453⁵⁰. Vested with this commission, the earl went to London, and concluded with the commissioners of the king of England, at Westminster, May 23, the same year, a prolongation of the truce then subsisting, from May 21, A. D. 1453, to May 21, A. D. 1457⁵¹.

Marriage
of the
earl of
Douglas.

But the earl abused the confidence of his sovereign on this occasion; and, while he was acting as his plenipotentiary, employed himself in preparing for a formidable rebellion against him. Margaret, formerly called the *Fair Maid of Galloway*, widow of the late earl of Douglas, by whom she had no children, was then in England, and, by the death of her husband, intitled to all the great estates of which she had been heiress. Earl James, pretending that she was still a virgin, courted and prevailed upon her to marry him, without waiting for a dispensation from the pope, or the consent of his own sovereign. Soon after his arrival in England, he seems to have had a design

⁴⁹ Pitcottie, p. 46—49.

⁵⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 324, 325.

⁵¹ Id. ibid. p. 327—336.

to make a journey to Rome, to procure a dispensation for this extraordinary marriage, and obtained a safe-conduct for himself, his three brothers, James lord Hamilton, James lord Livingston, twenty-five other knights and gentlemen by name, with 112 persons in their company, to pass through England in their way to Rome⁵². It is not very improbable that this journey never was intended, and that this protection for so many persons was procured for other purposes. What other engagements the earl of Douglas entered into with the court of England at this time, we are not informed.

A.D. 1453.

When king James received intelligence of the transactions of the earl of Douglas in England, particularly of his marriage with his brother's widow, he could no longer doubt of his ill designs, and determined to deprive him, as soon as possible, of the power of doing mischief. With this view he marched an army into Galloway, the patrimony of the countess Margaret, and without much difficulty subjected the country, and secured the castles, but treated the people with great lenity. He used more severity towards the inhabitants of Douglasdale, on account of their greater attachment to their chieftain. At last he besieged the castle of Abercorn, a strong place provided with a brave garrison⁵³.

A.D. 1454.
Siege of
Abercorn.

In the mean time the earl of Douglas, and his friends, had not been idle. He sent his mother

Earl of
Douglas
ruined.

⁵² Rym. Foed. tom. 11. p. 326, 327.

⁵³ Buchan. l. 11. p. 214. Pitcottie, p. 50, 51.

the

A. D. 1454 the countess Beatrix, and his wife the countess Margaret, into England, that they might be out of danger⁵⁴. Having received a sum of money from the court of England, he, with the lords and gentlemen of his party, collected their followers, and formed an army, it is said, of 30,000 men, with which they directed their march towards Abercorn. But when the earl approached the royal army, which was much inferior to his own, he delayed to give battle. This was a fatal error, which disgusted several of his bravest friends, and dispirited all his troops. In the night, James lord Hamilton was prevailed upon, by a message from bishop Kennedy, promising pardon, favour, and rewards, to go over with his followers to the royal camp. As soon as this was known, some imitated his example, others went to their own homes; and the earl, finding himself deserted by the greatest part of his army, retired with precipitation, and fled into England⁵⁵.

A. D. 1455.
Parliament.

The king, having spent the spring of this year in pardoning such of the earl of Douglas's partisans as implored his mercy, and in establishing peace and good order in the country, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh, June 9, A. D. 1455. In the first session of this parliament, James earl of Douglas, Beatrix countess of Douglas, his mother, Archibald earl of Moray, and John lord Balveny, his brothers, with a few of their most obstinate

⁵⁴ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 349.

⁵⁵ Buchan. l. 11. p. 214. Pinstottle, p. 51—55. Hawthornden, p. 53. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 360, 361.

adherents,

adherents, were attainted, and their estates confiscated. The parliament was then adjourned to August 4 in the same year⁵⁶.

A.D. 1455.

James earl of Douglas did not long remain quiet in England; but having, by the assistance of his brothers and other friends, collected a considerable body of troops, English as well as Scots, he entered Scotland by the west marches. But he was not permitted to penetrate far into the country; for being met in Annandale by the earl of Angus, the lord Carlisle of Torthorwald, the laird of Johnstone, and other loyal barons, at the head of their vassals, his army was defeated, Archibald earl of Moray, one of his brothers, was killed, and Hugh earl of Ormond, another of his brothers, was taken, and soon after beheaded. The earl of Douglas, with his other brother John lord Balveny, escaped with great difficulty back to England, where the earl soon after, August 7, A.D. 1455, obtained a pension of 500l. a-year, equivalent to 5000l. of our money at present⁵⁷.

Earl of Douglas defeated.

The parliament met again, August 4, the day so which it had been adjourned. In this session several good laws were made, and the attainders of the earl of Douglas, the countess Beatrix his

Parliament.

⁵⁶ Black Acts, f. 34.

⁵⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 367. Our historians indeed say, that the earl and his brother wandered in disguise into the highlands of Scotland, and after spiriting up the earl of Ross to rebellion, returned in the same manner into England. But this is very improbable in itself, and it is still more improbable that the earl would have received so noble a pension in his absence, when he was a forlorn wanderer, and it was unknown whether he was alive or dead.

A.D. 1455.

mother, and the lord Balveny (omitting the earl of Moray, who was then dead), were confirmed. It was further declared to be high treason to give any entertainment or assistance to any of those persons, or to any of their adherents⁵⁸. This parliament was again adjourned to the 13th of October.

Margaret
countess of
Douglas
married to
the earl of
Athol.

It cannot be certainly known at this distance of time, whether Margaret countess of Douglas married her first husband's brother willingly or by constraint. But however that might be, when she saw him ruined, and all his and her own great estates confiscated, she forsook him, returned into Scotland, implored the king's compassion, and declared, that she had been compelled to her second marriage, which had given him so much offence. The king admitted the apology of this unfortunate lady, granted her the lordship of Balveny, and married her to the eldest of his own uterine brothers, John Stewart earl of Athol⁵⁹.

Parlia-
ment.

The parliament met at Stirling, October 13, according to adjournment. In this session many wise regulations were made, for guarding the borders, for conveying the quickest intelligence of an approaching enemy, by kindling fires on certain eminences, and for convening the lieges with the greatest expedition to defend their country⁶⁰. It soon appeared that these precautions were not unnecessary. The nation, in a few months after, was involved both in a civil and foreign war.

⁵⁸ Black Acts, f. 45, 46.

⁵⁹ Pitcairne, p. 56.

⁶⁰ See Black Acts, f. 36.

Donald,

Donald, lord of the Isles, a fierce ambitious chieftain, provoked at the annexation of the earldom of Ross (that had formerly belonged to his family) to the crown by act of parliament, entered into a dangerous combination with the English and the earl of Douglas, and engaged to raise a rebellion in the north, while they invaded the kingdom on the south. In consequence of this concert, an army, composed of Scots and English, commanded by the earls of Douglas and Northumberland, passed the east marches in the spring of this year, and began to plunder the country as usual. But George Douglas, earl of Angus, who was then considered as the chief of that illustrious name, assaulted and defeated these plunderers, and obliged them to repass the border with considerable loss. In the mean time, the lord of the Isles had burnt the town of Inverness, and destroyed a great extent of country with fire and sword; but hearing of the defeat of his confederates, and beginning to dread the consequences of his rebellion, he sent a messenger to the king, promising submission and imploring pardon. The king returned this answer—That when he had laid down his arms, repaired the damage he had done, and given some signal proof of the sincerity of his submission, he might hope for pardon. Trusting to this answer and the intercession of his lady, who was then at court, he disbanded his army, and retired into the Isles, by which the tranquillity of the country was once more restored⁶¹.

A.D. 1456.

Rebellion
and in-
vasion.

⁶¹ Black Acts, f. 34, 35. Buchan. l. 11. p. 215. Abercromby, vol. 4. p. 265, &c. Pitcottie, p. 57, 58.

A.D. 1456.

Letters.

King James, justly offended at the support and assistance that had been given to his rebellious subject and most inveterate enemy, the earl of Douglas, by the court of England, in the time of a truce, wrote an expostulatory letter to that court on that subject, and sent it by Lyon king at arms. To this letter a very passionate, or rather scurrilous answer was returned, July 26, in the name of king Henry, but most probably by his haughty queen and imprudent ministers, without his knowledge, at a time when they vainly imagined they had got the better of all their enemies. This curious answer was directed—To the illustrious prince James, who behaves as if he was king of Scotland; accuses him of pride, vanity, calumny, cowardice, fraud, perjury, rebellion, and many other crimes, and threatens to chastise him for his impudence and presumption⁶²: a threat that was never executed.

Parliament.

James, disregarding these impotent threats, called a parliament, to meet at Edinburgh October 19, A.D. 1456. In this parliament many excellent laws were made,—for the defence of the kingdom, by arming the people, providing artillery, &c.; —for preventing the spreading of the pestilence that then raged;—for the regulation of the coin,—the administration of justice,—and the encouragement of trade⁶³. It is impossible to peruse these laws without entertaining a good opinion of the wisdom and patriotism of those who made them.

⁶² Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 383.⁶³ Black Acts, f. 38, 39.

The

The English ministry, who had lately treated king James with so much contempt, being now involved in great perplexity, and hardly able to defend their country from the French, by whom it was this year twice invaded, gladly agreed to a truce with Scotland for two years, which was concluded at Coventry June 11, A. D. 1457⁶⁴.

A.D. 1457.

Truce.

King James, who seems to have been fond of parliaments, called one to meet at Edinburgh March 6, A. D. 1457, in which no fewer than thirty-seven public acts were made, on a great variety of subjects, and all of them well calculated to promote the safety and prosperity of the kingdom. In the last of these acts, the three estates express their joy, "that God, of his grace, has send
" our soverane lord sic progressis and prosperity,
" that all his rebellis and brekaris of his justice ar
" removit out of his realme, and na maisterfull
" party remanand, that may cause ony breking in
" his realme. His three estatis maist humbly
" exhortis and requyris his hienes to be inclynit,
" with sic diligence, to the execution of thir sta-
" tutis, actis, and decretis above written, that God
" may be emplefit of him, and all his liegis, spi-
" ritual and temporal⁶⁵."

Parlia-
ment.

So good a correspondence was now restored between king James and Henry VI. that by an intercourse of letters, without any meeting of plenipotentiaries, four years were added, December 31, A. D. 1457, to the truce that had been concluded

Truce pro-
longed.⁶⁴ Rym. Ford. tom. 11. p. 389-399.⁶⁵ Black Acts, f. 49-46.

A.D. 1457. at Coventry a few months before. The reasons assigned by James for his agreeing to this prolongation of the truce were, his love of peace, the desire of the king of England, and the exhortations of the pope⁶⁶.

A.D. 1458, and A.D. 1459. Scotland enjoyed a profound peace during these two years; a thing not very common in those turbulent and restless times. In order to the continuance of that peace, the plenipotentiaries of both kings met at Newcastle, and on September 12, A. D. 1459, added five years to the late truce, which prolonged it to July 6; that was to be A. D. 1464⁶⁷.

A.D. 1460.

King
James
killed.

The contest between the houses of York and Lancaster had now become very violent, and seemed to be approaching to a crisis. The Yorkists, it is said, sent ambassadors to solicit the assistance of the king of Scotland, promising the restitution of the towns and lands claimed by that king⁶⁸. We know with certainty, that Henry VI. granted a safe-conduct June 2, A. D. 1460, to the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, the abbots of Holyroodhouse, Melross, and Dunfermline, the lords Livingston, Evandale, and Montgomery, Mr. John Arrowes, and Mr. Nicholas Otterbourne, to come into England, to treat with him about the better observation of the late truce⁶⁹. Some historians affirm, that James was instigated by Henry VI. to undertake the

⁶⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 407.

⁶⁷ Id. ibid. p. 426—436.

⁶⁸ Buchan. l. 12. p. 216. Fife, p. 59, &c.

⁶⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 453.

siege

siege of Roxburgh, because it was held by Yorkists⁷⁰. However that may be, it is unquestionable that James raised an army, with which he invested Roxburgh, about the beginning of July this year; but at whose instigation he did this, or how he reconciled his doing it with the truce that then subsisted between the two kingdoms, I have not been able to discover. He soon took and destroyed the town, but the castle was defended with great bravery. The earl of Huntley, with his followers, arriving in the camp, the king conducted him to the trenches, to be present at a discharge of the artillery against the fort, August 3, A. D. 1460; but, unfortunately, one of the guns burst, killed the king on the spot, and wounded the earl of Angus, without hurting any other person⁷¹.

A. D. 1460.

Thus fell James II, in the 24th year of his reign, and the 30th of his age. In his person he was strong and active, excelling in all manly and martial exercises. He had a large red spot on one side of his face, and on that account was called by the common people *James with the fiery face*. His deportment was uncommonly affable and courteous, which endeared him to persons of all ranks. In his early youth, his temper was warm and passionate; but as he advanced in life, he became cool, cautious, and considerate, conducting all his affairs with prudence. In a word, James II. was a brave, wise, and virtuous, but a very un-

His character,

⁷⁰ Abercromby, vol. 2. Echard, p. 511.

⁷¹ Buchan. l. 11. p. 217. Hawthornden, p. 36.

A.D. 1460.

fortunate prince, having been harassed from his infancy by the rebellions of his turbulent chieftains, and the invasions of his too powerful neighbours; and when he had surmounted his difficulties, was happy in the love of his subjects, and had the prospect of a prosperous reign, he was cut off in a moment, in the prime and flower of his age.

His issue.

James II. left by his queen Mary of Guelders, three sons and two daughters, viz. James, who succeeded him on the throne, Alexander duke of Albany, John earl of Marr, the lady Mary, and the lady Cecilia.

Roxburgh taken.

The nobles and others, who were present at the king's death, concealed it for some time from the army; and the queen (a princess of a bold courageous spirit), who had lately arrived in the camp, was so far from discouraging them by her lamentations, that she excited them by her exhortations to persevere in the siege with redoubled ardour. Animated by the speeches and example of the queen, they assaulted the castle with so much vigour that the garrison capitulated; and that fortress, which had been so long a receptacle to their enemies, was dismantled⁷². Encouraged by this success, they invaded England, plundered the country, and took and demolished several castles, particularly that of Werk⁷³.

⁷² Boet. p. 381. Buchan. l. 11. p. 217. Pitcottie, p. 65. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 382. ⁷³ Buchan. l. 12. p. 218.

SECTION III.

From the death of James II. A. D. 1460, to the death of James III. A. D. 1488.

JAMES III. was about six years and seven months old at his accession; and being brought to the camp before Roxburgh, a few days after his father's death, he received the homage of his barons at the neighbouring monastery of Kelso, where, as it is said by some historians, he was also crowned.

A. D. 1460.

James III.

About the beginning of this year a parliament met at Edinburgh, in order to settle the administration during the king's minority. One party of the nobles wished to raise the queen-dowager to the regency, in hopes of governing in her name; while another party opposed her elevation, in hopes of their own advancement. At length, after very warm debates, which had almost proceeded to blows, the matter was compromised in this manner: the custody of the king's person, and of his brothers and sisters, was committed to the queen, their mother; and a council of regency was established, composed of noblemen of both parties. In this council, Andrew lord Evandale, the chancellor, and James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, both nearly related to the royal family, had the greatest influence for some years, which

A. D. 1461.
Council of
regency.

¹ Buchan. l. 12. p. 218. Hawthornden, p. 39.

con-

A. D. 1461. contributed very much to the peace and good government of the kingdom^a.

**Trans-
actions of
Henry VI.
in Scot-
land.**

After several sudden and surprising turns of fortune, the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster seemed to be finally determined by the bloody battle of Towton, March 29, A. D. 1461, in which the Lancastrians were defeated with great slaughter. Henry VI. with his queen and only son Edward prince of Wales, fled for shelter to the court of Scotland, where they were kindly received and hospitably entertained. To engage the Scots to espouse his cause with greater warmth, king Henry surrendered to them the town and castle of Berwick, April 25, and the young king of Scots visited his new and important acquisition, June 15^a. Still further to strengthen the union between the two royal families, the two queens concerted a marriage between the princess Mary of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, which never took effect.

**Negoti-
ations.**

Edward IV. who had now taken possession of the throne of England, observing that the Scots entertained and favoured his rival, determined to raise them up enemies at home, to prevent their giving Henry any effectual assistance. With this view he gained the exiled earl of Douglas to his party, and appointed him, June 22, A. D. 1461,

^a The records of parliament in the first six years of James III. are lost, which obliges me to take my information from such historians as are most worthy of credit. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 279, sec. Hawthornden, p. 39. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 384, 385.

^b Carte, vol. 2. p. 762. Stow, p. 416.

his

his plenipotentiary, to negotiate an alliance between him "and his most dear cousin, John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, and his beloved "and faithful friend Donald Ballagh *." The design of this negotiation was, to excite these turbulent chieftains to rebellion; and yet, in a few weeks after (August 2), he appointed Richard earl of Warwick his ambassador, to treat with the ministers of his most dear cousin, James king of Scotland, about a truce: a sufficient evidence, that though Edward was but a young prince, he was already an artful politician. Both these negotiations were carried on during the remainder of this year.

A.D. 1461.

A.D. 1462.
Treaty.

The negotiation with the lord of the Isles was most successful, and terminated in a very curious treaty, "between the most high and mighty "prince Edward IV. king of England and France, "and lord of Ireland; and the full honourable "lord John de Isle, earl of Ross, and lord of the "the Out Isles." By the first article of this treaty (which was concluded at London, February 13, A. D. 1462), John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, Donald Ballagh, and John de Isle, son and heir of the said Donald, with their subjects and people, engaged to become the subjects and liege men of the king of England, his heirs and successors. 2. They engaged to be ready at Whitsunday to assist the king of England, with all their power, in his wars in Scotland, or against the Scots in Ireland. 3. Edward engaged to pay

* Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 474.

5 Id. ibid. p. 475.

to

A.D. 1462.

to the earl of Ross a subsidy of 100 marks in time of peace, and 200*l.* in time of war; to Donald, 20*l.* in time of peace, and 40*l.* in time of war; to John the son of Donald, 10*l.* in time of peace, and 20*l.* in time of war, all sterling money, during their respective lives. 4. It was agreed, that when the king of England, with the assistance of these allies, and of James earl of Douglas, had subdued the kingdom of Scotland, or the greatest part of it, he should grant all the countries beyond the Forth to the earls of Ross and Douglas and Donald Ballagh, to be equally divided among them, and held of the crown of England; and that the earl of Douglas should be restored to all his estates to the south of Forth. 5. Edward engaged, that if he made any peace or truce with the king of Scotland, his allies should be comprehended in it⁶. As a reward to the earl of Douglas for bringing about this alliance, and other services, Edward granted him a pension of 500*l.* sterling a-year for life, February 18, A. D. 1462⁷.

Rebellion.

In consequence of this treaty, the earl of Ross and his confederates broke out into open rebellion, surpris'd the castle of Inverness, and, advancing into the country, approached the castle of Blair in Athol. The earl of Athol, not daring to trust to the strength of his castle, took shelter, with his countess, friends, and most valuable effects, in a neighbouring church, dedicated to St. Bridget, which was believed to be an inviolable sanctuary. But the ferocious enemy, paying no regard to the

⁶ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 484—487.⁷ Id. ibid. p. 487.

sanctity

sanctity of the place, seized the earl and countess, and the goods in the church, and then set it on fire. The season being now far advanced, the islanders, according to their custom, became impatient to secure their booty; and, embarking with their prisoners and plunder, set sail for their islands. But they were overtaken, on their passage, by a violent storm, by which many of their vessels were wrecked, and the rest dispersed. In this confusion, the earl and countess of Athol were either set at liberty, or made their escape*.

A.D. 1462.

When Henry VI. and his queen arrived in Scotland after the battle of Towton, they laboured to engage the most powerful of the nobility in their interest, by promises of great rewards on their restoration. To George earl of Angus Henry granted an estate between the Trent and Humber, worth 2000 marks a-year, to be erected into a duchy, with many uncommon privileges*. Though the earl of Angus never obtained, he endeavoured to merit, this reward. A body of French troops, brought over by queen Margaret, was besieged in Alnwick castle, and in great danger of being killed or taken prisoners. The earl of Angus raised his followers, mounted them, and, with a competent number of spare horses to mount the garrison, attempted their relief. This attempt was conducted with so much spirit and dexterity, that the earl brought off the French in the face of a superior

A.D. 1463.

Incurſion
into Eng-
land.

* This transaction is so differently related by our historians, that I give the above account of it only as the most probable. See Buchanan. lib. 12. p. 225. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 397. Hawthorn- den, p. 39.

† Godscroft, p. 216.

army,

A. D. 1463. army, without being either interrupted or pursued¹⁰.

A. D. 1464.
Long
truce.

The battle of Hexham, fought May 15, A. D. 1464, having quite ruined the Lancastrians, the regency of Scotland became earnest to make a peace or long truce with Edward IV. who seemed now to be firmly fixed on the throne of England. A truce for fifteen years was accordingly concluded at York, June 1, to commence on the last day of October in the same year, when a short truce which then subsisted would have ended¹¹.

Duke of
Albany
taken and
released.

An event happened about the time that this truce was made, which threatened its immediate dissolution. The Scottish regents having resolved to send Alexander duke of Albany, the eldest of the king's two brothers, into France for his education, obtained a safe-conduct for him, and 200 persons in his company, April 20, A. D. 1464, for one year, from Edward IV. in all his dominions, both by sea and land¹². But the young prince and his attendants were made prisoners on their passage, by some English ships. These English mariners probably imagined, that this would be as agreeable to Edward as the capture of the prince of Scotland had been to Henry IV. But in this they were mistaken. The prince with his suit were instantly set at liberty, and a proper apology made for what had happened.

¹⁰ Godscroft, p. 216.

¹¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 21. p. 525.

¹² Id. ibid. p. 520.

A cessa-

A cessation of hostilities, and (if possible) a cordial friendship, were at this time very necessary to both the British nations: to the Scots, in the minority of their king; to the English, in the distracted state of their country after the civil wars. Edward IV. seems to have done every thing in his power to secure peace on that side, and to gain the good will of his nearest neighbours. A few days after the late truce was made, he appointed commissioners to guard against the violation of it¹³. He granted a commission, October 9, A. D. 1464, to John earl of Northumberland, Ralph lord Graystock, and four others, to meet with commissioners of the king of Scotland, November 6, to consider of the most effectual means of increasing and perpetuating the peace that then subsisted between the two kingdoms¹⁴.

A. D. 1464.
Negotiation.

The regency of Scotland discovered no aversion to the pacific proposals of the king of England. It seems probable, that at the above meeting in November A. D. 1464, the plenipotentiaries had agreed, that—the marriage of the young king of Scots with an English princess—intermarried between the noble families of the two kingdoms—and a definitive treaty of peace instead of a truce, would be the most effectual means of perpetuating peace. For Edward gave a commission to John Nevile earl of Northumberland, and eight others, July 20, A. D. 1465, to meet with commissioners to be appointed by the king of Scots, and treat on

Long
truce.

¹³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 527.

¹⁴ Id. ibid. p. 535.

A. D. 1465.

these three subjects¹⁵. Accordingly the king of Scotland gave a commission, at his castle of Down in Monteith, November 28, to the bishops of Glasgow and Aberdeen, David earl of Crawford, Colin earl of Argyle, the abbot of Holyroodhouse, James lord Livingston, James Lindsay provost of Lincluden, and sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, to meet with the English commissioners at Newcastle, on the 4th of December¹⁶. We hear of no marriages that were agreed upon at this meeting; nor could the commissioners settle the terms of a definitive treaty of peace; but they added forty years to the truce that then subsisted, which prolonged it to A. D. 1519; a much longer period than there was any probability that it would be observed¹⁷.

A. D. 1466.
Death of
bishop
Kennedy.

James Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrew's, died, May 10, A. D. 1466; and his death was a great calamity to his country¹⁸. His royal descent, his sacred function, his great wisdom, and many virtues, had procured him great influence in all affairs; and that influence he constantly employed for the good of the king and kingdom. He had taken much pains with the education of the young king, who at this time was esteemed a prince of great hopes¹⁹.

King taken from
Linlithgow.

The good bishop had not been three months in his grave, when the state both of the court and country was unhappily changed. This was owing

¹⁵ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 546.

¹⁶ Id. ibid. p. 549.

¹⁷ Id. ibid. p. 557.

¹⁸ Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 393.

¹⁹ Buchan. lib. 12. p. 225.

to the unbounded ambition of the family of the Boydes; who rose to the highest pitch of grandeur with astonishing rapidity, and with no less rapidity sunk into the deepest distress. Robert lord Boyde of Kilmarnock, the head of that family, was at this time high justiciary, and a member of the council of regency; and being a nobleman of an opulent fortune and great abilities, he had many friends. His brother, sir Alexander Boyde of Duncow, was a most accomplished gentleman, and had been appointed to instruct the young king in riding, tilting, and the other martial exercises of the times; which gave him great opportunities of gaining the favour of his royal pupil. While bishop Kennedy lived, both these brothers behaved with great propriety; but as soon as that prelate died, knowing the interest they had in the affections of their prince, they formed a plot to get the entire possession of his person, in order to ingross to themselves, and dispense to their friends, the honours and emoluments of the state. This plot was artfully contrived and boldly executed. Sir Alexander Boyde inspired the king with disgust at the strictness of the lord Kennedy, who superintended, and of the other gentlemen who conducted, his education; and persuaded him, that, being in his 13th year, he should assume the reins of government, and command those whom he now obeyed. Finding that this project was highly pleasing to the youthful monarch, he proposed to take him out of the hands of his preceptors on a certain day, and conduct him to Edinburgh, where he should take upon him the government;

A. D. 1466.

vernment; to which the king agreed. In consequence of this concert, sir Alexander Boyde, with a few friends, came to the exchequer in Linlithgow early in the morning, July 10, and carried out the king, to give him, as they pretended, the diversion of hunting. When they arrived on the field, they were received by the lords Boyde, Sommerville, and other chieftains, at the head of a body of men well armed and mounted, who struck into the road to Edinburgh. The lord Kennedy, being soon informed of what had happened, followed with so much haste, that he came up with them only a few miles on their way; and, laying his hand on the bridle of the king's horse, earnestly intreated him to return. But sir Alexander Boyde, pretending to resent the insult, as he called it, offered to the king, gave lord Kennedy much injurious language, and at last struck him a blow with his hunting-staff; which obliged him to desist from the struggle, and return to Linlithgow, vowing revenge for the injuries he had received²⁰.

Parliament.

Though the Boydes were now in possession both of the heart and person of their prince, they were far from being easy in their minds. Knowing that what they had done in carrying off the king from the place appointed for his residence, had lately been declared high treason by an act of parliament, they were apprehensive that they might one day be called to a severe account for that action²¹. To

²⁰ Buchan. l. 12. p. 225, 226. Ferrerii Append. Hist. Scot. f. 387. Hawthornden, p. 42. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 394. Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p. 473. ²¹ Black Acts, f. 30.

prevent

A. D. 1466.

prevent this, they called a parliament in the king's name, to meet at Edinburgh, October 8, and on the 13th of that month, the lord Boyde fell on his knees before the king, seated on his throne; in full parliament, and intreated him to declare if he entertained any resentment or displeasure against him and his friends for conducting him from Linlithgow to Edinburgh. The king answered, as he had been instructed, "That he entertained no displeasure against the lord Boyde and his friends for that action, which they had performed at his own command, and for which they never should be called in question." The lord Boyde then requested, that the king's gracious declaration should be inserted in the registers of parliament, and a copy of it delivered to him under the great seal; and both these requests were granted²². Certain lords were invested by this parliament with parliamentary powers to continue till the next session, which was appointed to begin January 31, A. D. 1467²³. These lords were particularly directed to commune about proper matches for the king, the princess Mary, his eldest sister, and his two brothers; and to settle all disputes with the king of Denmark about the annual of Norway, which was an annuity of one hundred marks demanded by that king, in consequence of a treaty between Alexander III. and Magnus IV. king of Norway, when that prince ceded the western

²² Crawford's Officers of State, Append. p. 473.

²³ Black Acts, f. 46.

A. D. 1466. isles to Scotland, A. D. 1266²⁴. As this parliament was entirely under the influence of the Boydes, this measure was dictated by them, for purposes that soon appeared.

A. D. 1467.
Elevation
of the
Boydes.

As lord Boyde was now possessed of all the power of the crown, he determined to employ it to the aggrandisement of his family. He was already high justiciary, governor of the king and kingdom; and he now procured the great office of lord chamberlain for life, by a commission under the great seal, August 25, A. D. 1467²⁵. To crown the whole, he obtained the consent of the king, and of the committee of parliament, to the marriage of the princess Mary with his eldest son sir Thomas Boyde, who was created earl of Arran, and got grants of several valuable estates with his royal bride²⁶. Thus the Boydes were raised as high as subjects could be raised, and their grandeur seemed to be built on the most solid foundation. They enjoyed the favour of their sovereign in the highest degree, and were as intimately connected with the royal family as it was possible—they had great estates and many friends, and filled the highest offices in the kingdom²⁷. But all this could not preserve them from a sudden and most deplorable reverse of fortune, which they do not seem to have merited by any very remarkable abuse of their prosperity.

²⁴ Black Acts, f. 46. Torfæi Hist. Orcad. p. 171.

²⁵ Crawford's Officers of State, p. 315.

²⁶ Id. *ibid*.

²⁷ See lord Boyde's commission of governor of the kingdom, and the king, and his two brothers, Appendix, N^o 2.

The

The king being now in his fifteenth year, the Boydes, who had the direction of all affairs, very wisely resolved to provide a proper consort for him, and fixed their thoughts on Margaret, only daughter of Christiern I. king of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, a princess famous for her beauty and amiable dispositions. By this marriage they hoped to terminate the dispute about the annual of Norway, which had of late become very serious, and to procure the sovereignty of the Orkney and Shetland isles, as well as a considerable sum of money. Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor and cousin to the king, and Thomas Boyde earl of Arran, his brother-in-law, were appointed ambassadors to negotiate this marriage; and their commission passed the great seal at Edinburgh, July 28, A. D. 1468²⁸. These ambassadors succeeded in their negotiation; and the contract of marriage between king James and the princess Margaret was sealed at Copenhagen, September 8, of the same year²⁹. By that contract, king Christiern resigned, for himself and his successors, all claim to the annual of Norway, and all arrears of that annual, and engaged to pay, as his daughter's marriage-portion, 60,000 florins of the Rhine. Of these florins 10,000 were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark; and for the remaining 50,000 he mortgaged the Orkney islands, which were to be retained by the king of Scotland, and his successors, till that money was paid. The pa-

A. D. 1468.

The king
contracted.²⁸ Torfæus Hist. Orcad. p. 193, 194.²⁹ Id. ibid. p. 197.

A. D. 1468.

lace of Linlithgow, and the castle of Down, with a third part of the revenues of the crown, were settled on the princess as her dowry³⁰. As it was thought too late in the season to conduct the princess into Scotland, the ambassadors returned to give an account of their negotiation.

A. D. 1469

Parliament.

In the spring A. D. 1469, the earl of Arran was sent with a good fleet, and a splendid train of lords and ladies, to bring home the young queen. He arrived at Copenhagen about the beginning of May. Christiern I. being then at war with his Swedish subjects, found it inconvenient to pay the 10,000 florins, which were to be paid before his daughter left Denmark. By a new treaty with the ambassador, therefore, May 20, he paid immediately 2000 florins, and mortgaged the Shetland isles for the remaining 8000, and transmitted letters, dated May 28, to all his subjects in Orkney and Shetland, acquainting them with these transactions, and commanding them to pay their tribute to, and obey the king of Scotland and his successors; till these islands were redeemed by him or his successors³¹.

Decline
of the
Boydes.

King James and his royal bride being both very young, the earl of Arran made no haste to return home. This was a fatal error, and proved ruinous to himself and all his family; for his father lord Boyde, and his uncle sir Alexander, being both advanced in life, and much engaged in business,

³⁰ Torfæi Hist. Orcad. p. 197.³¹ Id. ibid. p. 188, 189.


could

A.D. 1469.

could not give so constant an attendance on the king as was necessary to secure his favour, and exclude others from his company, who might do them ill offices. Their enemies, of which they had many, and particularly the noble family of the Kennedies, who being nearly related to the royal family, had free access to the king, neglected no opportunity of inspiring him with suspicions, fears, and jealousy of the Boydes. They insinuated,—that the lord Boyde, with his brother and son, had abused his goodness and favour, by engrossing all the power and emoluments of the government, to the exclusion of the other nobles, who were generally discontented; that they had disgraced the royal family by the marriage of the princess Mary to the Earl of Arran; they even hinted, that they had cast ambitious eyes upon the crown, and that the king and his brothers were not safe while they were in the hands of that dangerous aspiring family. These, and such insinuations, frequently repeated by persons who studied to please him, and appeared to be so deeply concerned for his honour and safety, made so strong an impression on the king's mind, that by degrees he was brought to fear and hate the Boydes more violently than he had ever loved them. When things had come to this crisis, and the king had entered warmly into the design of ruining the Boydes, a parliament was called, to meet at Edinburgh, November 20, A. D. 1469; and the lord Boyde, his brother sir Alexander, and his son the earl of Arran (though then in Denmark on the king's

B b 4

business),

A. D. 1469.  business), were summoned to appear before it, to answer to the accusations that were to be brought against them".

Fall of the
Boydes.

The lord Boyde was astonished beyond measure at this unexpected change in the affections of his sovereign. At first he resolved to face the storm, and to come to parliament with so great a retinue as would overawe his enemies. But finding that he had more powerful foes, and fewer friends than he had imagined, he dismissed his followers, and fled into England, where he died, A. D. 1470. Sir Alexander Boyde being sick, could not or would not fly. The parliament proceeded, November 22, to the trial of the lord Boyde, and his son the earl of Arran, in their absence. They were accused of high treason, for taking the king out of the exchequer at Linlithgow, and bringing him to Edinburgh against his will, July 10, 1466, which, by act of parliament (says the record), and by the canon and civil law, is declared to be treason. No person appearing in their defence, they were immediately found guilty, and all their estates confiscated. Sir Alexander Boyde was brought to the bar the same day, and accused of the same crime; to which he pleaded not guilty. The jury, which consisted of the following lords and barons, David earl of Crawford, James earl of Morton, William lord Abernethy, George lord Seaton, George lord Gordon, Alexander lord Glamis, George Halyburton, Walter lord Lorn, John Dishington of

31 Black Acts, f. 51. Buchan. p. 227, 228.

Ardrossie, Archibald Dundas of Dundas, John Stewart of Craigie, William thane of Calder, Alexander Straton of Laurieston, John Wardlaw of Ricarton, George Campbell of Loudon, having heard the evidence and pleadings for the crown, and the defence of the prisoner, retired a little to deliberate, and then returned with a verdict, finding the prisoner guilty. He was then condemned to be beheaded on the castle hill of Edinburgh, the common place of execution, and his estate confiscated. The parliament, November 27, annexed all the great estates of the Boyde family to the crown³². Thus fell the Boydes, from a height of power and opulence to which few subjects in Scotland ever attained, by a ruin equally sudden and unexpected. If they really carried off the king from Linlithgow by force, intentionally corrupted his manners, and abused the facility of his youth, as was now alleged, their fate was not unmerited; but if they were innocent of all this, as they affirmed, it fixes an indelible stain on the memory of James III. or rather on those who possessed his confidence, and took advantage of his youth and inexperience.

A.D. 1469.

Though the earl of Arran must have heard in Denmark of these transactions, so fatal to his family and so threatening to himself, he determined to execute the honourable commission with which he was invested, probably entertaining hopes, that the influence of the young and beautiful queen he

A.D. 1479.

Earl of
Arran
flees to
Denmark.

³² Trial of the Boydes, extracted from the Records, p. 187.

was

A.D. 1470.

was bringing home, joined to that of his own affectionate consort, the king's sister, would procure his pardon, and bring him into favour. He sailed from Copenhagen about the end of May A. D. 1470, and arrived in a few days in the frith of Forth. As soon as the fleet was discovered, the countess of Arran made her escape from Edinburgh in disguise, and got on board her husband's ship. But she brought him no comfort, but that of mingling her tears with his, and declaring her resolution to share in all his fortunes; for she assured him, that the power and malice of his enemies were then so great, that if he fell into their hands, he would certainly be put to death. On receiving this assurance, the unfortunate earl went with his countess on board a Danish ship in his fleet, and immediately returned to Denmark³³.

The king's
marriage.

After the flight of the earl of Arran, the fleet proceeded up the Frith; the queen landed at Leith, amidst the loud acclamations of a prodigious multitude of people, and was married to the king, with uncommon festivity and pomp, June 15, A. D. 1470, the royal bridegroom being in his seventeenth, and the blooming bride in her sixteenth year. Queen Margaret excelled all the princesses of that age (says Ferrerius) in beauty and the elegance of her person, but still more in prudence, piety, modesty, and sweetness of temper³⁴. Ten days after their marriage (June 25), the king granted her the castle and lordship of

³³ Buchan. l. 12. p. 228. Ferrerius in Append. ad Hist. Boeth. f. 328.

³⁴ Id. ibid. f. 389.

Kilmarnock, to purchase ornaments for her head, and some other parts of dress³⁵. A.D. 1470,

The adventures of the unfortunate earl of Arran after his flight are not certainly known, as different accounts are given of them by different authors³⁶. All we know with certainty is, that his consort bore him a son and a daughter, while she remained with him in exile³⁷. The king her brother, or those about him, used every possible means to prevail upon her to abandon her husband and return home, but for a considerable time all these means were ineffectual. At length he directed or permitted her friends in Scotland to give her hopes, that if she complied with the king's desire, she would probably procure the restoration of her husband to his estates and honours. Influenced by these hopes, she returned to Scotland, most probably A. D. 1473; But she soon found that all applications in favour of her husband were perfectly vain and hopeless, and that other designs were formed. A prosecution for a divorce from him was commenced (but whether with her consent or not, or upon what grounds, we are not informed); and when we consider how easily divorces were obtained in those times, on a great variety of pretences, we have reason to believe that she was actually divorced, and her marriage with the earl of Arran dissolved. But however that might be, she was married to James lord Hamilton in June A. D. 1474; but whether her former

A.D. 1471, &c.
Lord Hamilton married to the king's sister,

A.D. 1473, and
A.D. 1474.

³⁵ Register of the great seal, Register-office, Edinburgh.

³⁶ Ferrer. f. 387. Buchan. p. 229,

³⁷ Id. p. 228.

husband

A. D. 1474. husband was then dead or not, is uncertain. The king granted a charter of the lands of Kinneil, and several other estates, to that lord and his wife Mary, the king's sister, dated July 12, A. D. 1474²⁸. As king James was still young, it is uncertain what influence he had in these transactions.

A. D. 1475. Though the truce between the two British nations at this time was not well observed, and it was impossible to restrain the borderers from mutual depredations; yet as those who had the chief direction of affairs in both kingdoms were averse to war, these depredations did not produce an open rupture. To prevent this, frequent meetings of the commissioners of both kings were held every year, for several years, for redressing abuses, and contriving regulations for the better observation of the truce, of which a minute detail would afford little instruction and no entertainment. Edward IV. after his restoration, A. D. 1471, that he might be at leisure to fix himself firmly on the throne, and take vengeance on his capital enemy the king of France, laboured earnestly to gain the friendship of the king, the nobles, and people of Scotland. With this view, he redressed all the injuries of which they complained with great alacrity, and set on foot a negotiation for promoting intermarriages between the great families of the two kingdoms, and between the two royal families²⁹. In consequence of these ne-

²⁸ Register of the great seal, James III.

²⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. II. p. 716—719, 733. 740. 742. 752. 774. 776. 786—791.

gotiations,

negotiations, a contract of marriage was concluded at Edinburgh October 26, A. D. 1474, between James prince of Scotland and the princess Cecilia, king Edward's youngest daughter, though they were both in their infancy⁴⁰.

A. D. 1475.

The lords of the Isles, earls of Ross, had often rebelled, and been often subdued, but had never been cordial subjects to the kings of Scotland. We have already heard of the treasonable confederacy into which John lord of the Isles and earl of Ross entered with Edward IV. and how that confederacy was defeated, A. D. 1462⁴¹. That chieftain having about this time raised some fresh disturbances, and been obliged to submit, he was forfeited November 27, A. D. 1475, in a parliament that met at Edinburgh on the 20th of that month. But in the next parliament, that met at the same place, July 4, A. D. 1476, the king, at the earnest request of the queen, and in consideration of his relation to the royal family, with the consent of the whole parliament, July 25, restored him to blood, created him a lord of parliament, by the title of *lord of the Isles*, and granted him all his estates (which appear to have been very great), except the earldom of Ross, the lordships of Kintyre and Knapdale, which were, by an act of the same parliament, annexed to the crown⁴².

A. D. 1476.

Earl of Ross forfeited.

⁴⁰ Rym. Fœd. tom. 11. p. 324—334.

⁴¹ See p. 362, &c.

⁴² Regist. Magni Sigilli, Jacobi III. Crawford's Pedrage, p. 233. Black Acts, fol. 62.

In

A.D. 1477.

Death of
the earl of
Mar.

In the course of this year, an unhappy quarrel broke out between the king and his two brothers, the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, which was productive of the most fatal consequences. James III. had a taste for the fine arts, and spent much of his time in the company of those who excelled in these arts, who possessed a much greater share of his favour and bounty than they were intitled to by their rank in life. This gave great offence to his brothers, and to many of the ancient nobility, who were at no pains to conceal their contempt and hatred of those upstart favourites, and their dissatisfaction with the king on their account. The earl of Mar, being young, fierce, and passionate, was most unguarded in his expressions of resentment against the king, and threats of vengeance on his minions; for which he was confined, first at Craigmillar, and afterwards in the Canon-gate, where he died⁴³. The manner of his death is not certainly known; but the most probable account that is given of it seems to be this,—that the excess of his rage at his confinement threw him into a fever and phrenzy, of which he died⁴⁴.

A.D. 1478.

Escape of
the duke of
Albany.

The death of the earl of Mar, whatever the manner of it was, greatly increased the dissatisfaction of the discontented nobles with the king, and their rage against his favourites. The duke of Albany, not being able to conceal his indignation and designs of vengeance, was suddenly seized, and

⁴³ Ferrer. fol. 391. Buchan. p. 232. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 428.

⁴⁴ Hawthornden, p. 47.

com-

committed a close prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, with only one page to attend him. Dreading either a public trial and execution, or private assassination, the duke made his escape out of the castle with great difficulty, and got on board a ship at Leith, which carried him to his castle of Dunbar. Thinking it unsafe to stay in that place, he made his escape into France; and the castle was soon after surrendered to the king⁴⁵.

A.D. 1478.

The duke of Albany was kindly received by Lewis XI. king of France; but that wise prince refused to employ any other means but intreaty and persuasion to obtain his restoration. He accordingly sent John Ireland, doctor of the Sorbonne, a Scotsman, famous for his eloquence and learning, as his ambassador to the king of Scotland, to persuade and intreat him to be reconciled to his brother, and restore him to his estates and honours. The ambassador was well chosen, and rendered himself highly acceptable to the king, by his preaching and conversation; but he was obliged to return without any success in his embassy. In the mean time, the king of France procured for the duke an advantageous marriage with a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, with an ample fortune, which enabled him to live in his exile in a manner suitable to his rank⁴⁶.

A.D. 1479.
Marriage
of the duke
of Albany.

That harmony and friendly intercourse which had subsisted several years between the two British courts, was now unhappily interrupted. This was

A.D. 1480.
Breach of
the truce
between⁴⁵ Ferrer. p. 392. Buchan. p. 232.⁴⁶ Ferrer. fol. 392.
owing

A. D. 1480.
 England
 and Scot-
 land.

owing to the intrigues of the duke of Albany, and a discontented party of the Scots nobility, who carried on a treasonable correspondence with the king of England, and the exiled earl of Douglas, inviting them to invade their country, and promising them their assistance. Though king Edward had often declared the most determined resolution to observe the truce that then subsisted between the two nations; nay, though he had concluded a contract of marriage between the prince of Scotland and his youngest daughter, and had even paid a part of her portion, he had not the resolution to resist the prospect that now presented itself, of recovering the town of Berwick, and of gaining other advantages, by the distractions of his neighbours. The borderers were encouraged to make incursions into Scotland; which were instantly returned, and the flames of war were kindled in a moment⁴⁷. In the preamble to the commission which he granted, May 12, A. D. 1480, to his brother Richard duke of Gloucester, to be his lieutenant-general, he says, that—"James king of Scotland, inflamed
 "with inveterate enmity and obdurate hatred,
 "disregarding the honour of his own name, and
 "despising all nobility, had determined to break
 "all his promises, and make war upon him:"—expressions which were plainly calculated to please the discontented nobles of Scotland⁴⁸. He granted another commission, June 20, to the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Northumberland, and many

⁴⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 23. 41. 53. Stow, p. 432.

⁴⁸ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 115.

other

other lords and gentlemen, to array all his subjects capable of bearing arms in the northern counties, to defend the kingdom against the Scots ⁴⁹.

A.D. 1480.

King James, either instigated by the king of France and his own confidents, or forced to it by preparations in England, prepared for war. The incursions of the English roused the national animosity of the Scots, who crowded to his standard; and he soon found himself at the head of a gallant army, with which he marched towards the borders, before the duke of Gloucester was ready to oppose him. But his progress was stopped by a stratagem. A messenger, or rather one who pretended to be a messenger, from the pope's legate in England, met him, and in the pope's name enjoined him to lay down his arms, that all Christian princes might unite their forces against the common enemy, the Turks. James, naturally disinclined to war, and believing that a similar injunction (as he was told) had been laid on the king of England, disbanded his army ⁵⁰. Towards the end of this year, the English army, commanded by the duke of Gloucester, made an unsuccessful attempt on the town and castle of Berwick ⁵¹.

Stratagem.

A concise account hath been already given of the transactions between the two British nations in this and the two succeeding years; but in this place it will be proper to be a little more particular ⁵².

A.D. 1481.
Preparations of Edward.

⁴⁹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 117.

⁵⁰ Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 434. Black Acts, fol. 65.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See p. 240—242.

A.D. 1481.

Edward, determined to make an attempt against Scotland by sea, granted commissions, February 15, to certain masters of ships, to press as many sailors as would be sufficient to man a fleet of eleven sail against his faithless and ancient enemy the king of Scots⁵³. He gave a similar commission, March 2, to nine gentlemen, to provide artillery, ammunition, and arms of all kinds, to be carried into the north, for the use of an army, to resist an expected invasion from Scotland⁵⁴. That nothing might divert the attention of his subjects from the business of the war, he shut up the courts of justice till Michaelmas⁵⁵. He also appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty with his most dear cousins, the lord of the Isles and Donald Gorne; and, in a word, neglected nothing to render himself formidable to his enemies⁵⁶.

Parliament.

King James was no less active in his preparations. He called a parliament, which met at Edinburgh April 2, and formed the most spirited resolutions for a vigorous prosecution of the war. They declared their own and their sovereign's pacific dispositions and willingness to keep the truce, which had been intimated to the king of England by a herald and pursuivant, who had been detained long, and sent back contemptuously without any answer. They expressed the strongest resentment against the reisar (robber) Edward, who, prompted by avarice and ambition, had de-

⁵³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 139.⁵⁵ Id. ibid. p. 141.⁵⁴ Id. ibid. p. 140.⁵⁶ Id. ibid.

terminated,

terminated, if he could, to make a conquest of the kingdom, and solemnly promised to defend their king's person and family with their lives and fortunes, as their ancestors had often done. The king, on his part, considering the sincere affection and hearty love of his subjects, promised to govern according to law, and by the advice of his parliament, which appointed ambassadors to be sent by the king and the three estates to the king of France, to solicit his assistance. They commanded all the lieges to be armed, and frequently exercised, and to join the royal standard within eight days after they were charged: they bestowed the highest praises on the king, for having repaired the fortifications of Berwick, and furnished it with a garrison of 500 men, at his own expence; and, in consideration of this, the three estates engaged to raise and pay 500 men to defend the other castles on the borders: they commanded all the lords to fortify their own castles, and furnish them with artillery, ammunition, and men: they made many excellent regulations for procuring and conveying intelligence; and still further, to show their loyalty, they ordered a proclamation to be published, offering the reward of a freehold estate of 100 marks a-year, and 1000 marks in money, to any man who should kill, or bring to the king, the exiled earl of Douglas, and smaller rewards for his accomplices⁵⁷. It is very remarkable, that Archibald earl of Angus was present in this affectionate

⁵⁷ See Black Acts, fol. 65—68.

A.D. 1481.

and loyal parliament, and was sworn in, April 11, warden of the east marches, a place of the greatest trust and honour⁵⁸. This discovers the deep dissimulation of that great earl, who was a most inveterate enemy to the unhappy king, as soon after appeared.

Military
operations.

Though great armies were raised in both kingdoms this year, and marched towards the borders, they stood on the defensive, and did not come to any decisive action. The English fleet, with troops on board, failed up the frith of Forth; and the troops attempting to land in several places, were repulsed. At length they burnt the village of Blackness, carried off a few merchant-ships, and then returned to their own coasts⁵⁹.

A.D. 1482.

Treaties.

Alexander duke of Albany, finding it impossible to persuade the king of France to assist him in making war against his brother and his native country, privately left his family, and came over to the court of England in the spring of this year⁶⁰. Soon after his arrival, he entered into such engagements with king Edward as discover him to have been a man void of every principle of honour, and capable of the most criminal and atrocious enterprises. By a charter, dated at Fotheringay, June 10 (in which he styled himself Alexander king of Scotland, with as little ceremony as if his brother king James and all his children had been dead), he engaged—to swear

⁵⁸ Records of Parliament, 1481, Register-office, Edinburgh.

⁵⁹ Ferrer. fol. 394.

⁶⁰ Rym. Feod. tom. 12. p. 154.

fealty

fealty to king Edward for the kingdom of Scotland, within six months after he had got possession of the greater part of that kingdom—to dissolve all the confederacies between Scotland and France—and to surrender the town and castle of Berwick⁶¹. The day after he entered into still more base and infamous engagements. In a charter, dated June 11, he had the meanness to style himself, “King of Scotland, by the gift of the king of England,” and engaged to give up Annandale, Liddisdale, Eskdale, and Ewfdale, with the castle of Lochmaben. Nay, though he had a connection with a daughter of the earl of Orkney, which the lady and her family esteemed a lawful marriage, and though he was solemnly married to a daughter of the earl of Boulogne, and had a son by each of these ladies; yet he now engaged to marry the princess Cecilia, king Edward’s youngest daughter (who had been contracted to James prince of Scotland), if he could get clear of other women⁶². In a word, nothing could be more dishonourable than the designs of the duke of Albany at this time; and yet that duke is represented by the generality of our historians, and was then believed by the great body of the people, to be an innocent, oppressed patriot, and his brother king James a most cruel, unprovoked tyrant.

A.D. 1482.

Berwick
invested.

As soon as Edward had concluded these treaties with the duke of Albany, he appointed, June 12, his brother the duke of Gloucester his lieutenant-

⁶¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 256.⁶² Id. *ibid.*

A.D. 1482.

general, to command the army against Scotland⁶¹. That army, consisting of 22,500 chosen men, rendezvoused at Alnwick; and marching from thence under the command of the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, the earl of Northumberland, and several other noblemen, invested the town and castle of Berwick about the beginning of July⁶².

The king's
favourites
hanged.

King James, having raised an army to oppose this formidable invasion, directed his march towards the borders; and about the end of June encamped at the town of Lauder. At that place a cruel and unexpected tragedy was acted, which threatened the ruin of the king and kingdom. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was at this time the most powerful nobleman in Scotland, having obtained from the crown many of the estates of the exiled earl of Douglas. He was married to a daughter of the late regent Robert lord Boyde; and though he was not involved in the ruin of the Boydes, he secretly resented the severity with which they had been treated, and was deeply engaged in the treasonable schemes of the duke of Albany. This potent earl had a private meeting in the night with the noblemen and gentlemen of his party, in the church of Lauder, to consult about the destruction of the royal favourites, as the most effectual means of distressing the king and defeating the present expedition. At this meeting one of the members repeated the following fable: "The mice (said he) held a meeting, to consult about the best

⁶¹ Rymer. Fœd: tom. 12. p. 136. ⁶² Stow, p. 432.

" means

A.D. 1482.

“ means of preserving themselves from the cats.
 “ One mouse proposed to hang a bell about the
 “ cat’s neck, that, by its ringing when the cat
 “ moved, they might have warning of their dan-
 “ ger. But when it was asked, Who will bell the
 “ cat? none of them had so much courage.”

The earl of Angus taking the hint, cried out—I will bell the cat; which procured him the nickname of *Archibald Bell-the-cat* ever after. Having formed their plan, they left the church; and, attended by a body of armed men, entered the royal tent early in the morning, and there seized six of the king’s most favoured confidants, viz. Robert Cochran an architect, master of the works, sir William Rogers a musician, Thomas Preston, James Hommel, William Torfeslan, and one Leonard. John Ramsay of Balmain, a young gentleman of a good family, was saved, by clasping the king in his arms. After upbraiding the king in very severe terms, for spending his time in such unworthy company, they carried off the six unhappy victims, and hanged them over the bridge of Lauder. The king, struck with consternation at this cruel outrage, retired, with his uncle the earl of Athol, and some other noblemen, to the castle of Edinburgh, or (as some historians report) was carried thither, and guarded as a prisoner. The army disbanded in great confusion, every chieftain conducting his followers wherever he pleased⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ Ferrer. f. 395. Buchan. lib. 12. p. 234. Hawthornden, p. 50. Godscroft, p. 223, &c. Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 446.

A.D. 1482.

Progress
of the
English
arms.

The garrison in the town of Berwick, having probably heard of what had happened at Lauder, surrendered that place to the English army; but the lord Hailes, who commanded in the castle, made a brave defence. The dukes of Gloucester and Albany, not thinking it prudent to spend their time before that fortress, left 4000 men to block it up, and marched northward with the rest of their army. They met with no enemy by the way, and took possession of the city of Edinburgh without any opposition⁶⁶.

Pacifica-
tion.

It is hardly possible to conceive any country in a more deplorable condition than Scotland was at this time. The king was shut up in the castle of Edinburgh, and the queen and prince in the castle of Stirling; the nobility were divided into factions, and the enemy in possession of the capital: but it was saved by the wisdom and fortitude of a few real patriots, William archbishop of St. Andrew's, James bishop of Dunkeld, Andrew lord Evandale, chancellor, and Colin earl of Argyle, who had formed a small army of their followers near Haddington, sent proposals for an accommodation to the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, which were favourably received, and an accommodation was concluded at Edinburgh August 2, on the following conditions:—1, The above prelates and noblemen engage, that if the duke of Albany shall behave as a loyal subject to his brother James king of Scotland, he should enjoy perfect freedom and safety in that kingdom.

⁶⁶ Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 450.

2, That

A.D. 1482

2. That they would prevail upon the king to restore him to all his honours, offices, and estates.

3. That they would procure a pardon for him and all his followers (except such as were excepted by the last parliament), for all crimes, and particularly for his aspiring to the throne when he was in England.

4. That they would procure the ratification of all this by the king in the next parliament⁶⁷. By the third article in the above agreement it plainly appears, that some of the treasonable transactions of the duke of Albany in England, particularly his intended usurpation of the throne, had come to the knowledge of king James and his ministers. What induced the dukes of Gloucester and Albany to make this agreement, and drop the prosecution of their schemes of conquest, it is difficult to discover, but it will soon appear that they had still these schemes in view.

Soon after this pacification, the duke of Gloucester returned with his army into England, and the duke of Albany joined his countrymen. Having visited the queen and prince at Stirling, he came back to Edinburgh, where a very curious piece of political mummery was exhibited. The duke, assisted by the provost, bailies, and some of the citizens, made an attack upon the castle, took it by assault, and set the king at liberty, without one drop of blood being spilt on either side. The king received his brother with the strongest expressions of gratitude for his deliverance; and the

Greatness
of the
duke of
Albany.

⁶⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 160.

duke

A.D. 1482.

duke made the warmest professions of inviolable love and loyalty to the king. To convince the people that the reconciliation between the royal brothers was perfectly sincere and cordial, they rode on one horse from the castle to Holyrood-house, amidst the acclamations of the deluded multitude⁶⁸. This farce (for it deserves no better name) was carried still further. The duke of Albany was constituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom, lord high admiral, and warden both of the east and west marches, by which the whole power of the crown was put into his hands. Besides all this, the king made him a grant of the earldoms of Mar and Garioch, which, with his great estates of Albany, March, Annandale, and the isle of Man, made him as opulent as he was powerful. In the preamble of that grant, the king loads the duke with the highest praises for his fidelity, loyalty, fraternal affection, faithful services, &c.; though he perfectly well knew that he had come with an English army to dethrone himself and disinherit his posterity⁶⁹. A few days after (November 16), the king gave a charter to the provost, bailies, and community of Edinburgh,

⁶⁸ Pitfcottie, p. 82.

⁶⁹ Nos alta mente considerans fidem, legalitatem, amorem, benevolentiam, fraternam caritatem, pietatem, cordiale servitium, et virtutis obsequium, quod frater noster carissimus Alexander Albanie dux, comes Marchie, dominus vallis Annandie et Mannie, generalis locum tenens, magnus regni nostri admiralus, ac guardianus orientalium et occidentalium marchiarum ejusdem versus Angliam, nobis jamdudum provide præstitit, nostram de carceribus ex castro nostro de Edinburgh liberando personam, &c. Ex Regist. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

called

called the *golden charter*, containing various gifts and privileges, which they had merited by their loyalty and important services ⁷⁰.

A.D. 1482.

The seeming reconciliation of the royal brothers, and the prosperity of the duke of Albany, were of short duration. That turbulent ambitious duke, fearing, or pretending to fear, some machinations against his life, retired from court about the beginning of this year, and shut himself up in his strong castle of Dunbar, and renewed his treasonable correspondence with the court of England. He gave a commission, January 12, to three of his most zealous partisans, and bitterest enemies of the king his brother, Archibald Bell-the-cat, earl of Angus, Andrew lord Gray, and sir James Liddale of Halkerston, to renew the treaty of Fotheringay with Edward IV. who appointed, February 9, Henry earl of Northumberland, John lord Scroope, and sir William Parre, to treat with them. These commissioners met at Westminster, and concluded a treaty, February 11, that fixes an indelible stain of infamy on the character of the duke of Albany, and of all who promoted his base designs. By that treaty it is stipulated,—1. That there shall be entire love and friendship between king Edward and the duke of Albany; and that they shall assist each other, with all their power, against all men: 2. That there shall be a truce between the subjects of the king of England and the favourers of the duke of Albany, who shall give one list of their names, and another of the

A.D. 1483.
Infamous
treaty.

⁷⁰ Ex Regist. Magni Sigilli Jacobi III. Edinburgh.

A. D. 1483.

names of those who were not his friends, that the last might not have the benefit of the truce: 3. That the dukes of Gloucester and Albany, the earls of Northumberland and Angus, shall be judges of all violations of this truce: 4. That during the truce, the duke of Albany shall exert all his power to acquire the crown of Scotland to himself, that he and the nobles of his party may do mighty service to the king of England against the king of France: 5. That king Edward shall assist the duke with competent forces in acquiring the crown; and that the duke shall never make peace with his brother James, or any of his offspring: 6. The three ambassadors engage for themselves, on their honour and knighthood, that if the duke of Albany shall decease without issue, they, and all whom they can influence, shall become subjects of the king of England, and shall keep their castles from James, now king of Scots, and his successors: 7. That the duke of Albany, within forty days after he obtains the crown, shall dissolve all the leagues between his kingdom and France: 8. That the duke, when he becomes king, shall declare himself, his heirs, his nobles, and all his subjects, to be for the king of England, to serve him with all their forces, at their own cost, as often as required, against all princes, particularly against the king of France: 9. That the duke and his heirs shall never claim the town of Berwick: 10. That the duke, when king, shall restore the earl of Douglas to his lands, according to an agreement between that earl and the earl of Angus:

Angus: 11. That the duke, being king, shall marry one of the king of England's daughters, without a fortune. Could any thing be more unnatural and infamous than this treaty on the part of the duke of Albany and his ambassadors? How much was king James to be pitied, who had such a brother and such subjects⁷¹! And yet (so much are the characters of princes and great men sometimes mistaken by their contemporaries, and misrepresented to posterity) the duke and his confederates were believed by a great body of the people to be the champions of the honour and independency of their country, and have been celebrated as such by some of our historians⁷².

A. D. 1483.

The effects of this treaty were prevented, by the death of the king of England, in less than two months after it was concluded. King James, about the same time, lost his amiable and virtuous consort, queen Margaret of Denmark, who died at Stirling, and was buried in the abbey of Cambuskenneth, near that town.

Death of
queen
Margaret.

King James, having discovered the treasonable correspondence of the duke of Albany with the court of England, caused him and sir James Liddale of Halkerston to be summoned to appear before a parliament that was to meet at Edinburgh, June 27, A. D. 1483, to answer to a charge of high treason. They both made their escape into England; and the duke, before his departure, de-

Parliament.

⁷¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 173—175.

⁷² Buchan. lib. 12. p. 233. Pitscottie, p. 85. Godscroft, p. 227, 228.

livered

A.D. 1483.

livered his castle of Dunbar to an English garrison from Berwick. Their trials came on in parliament, July 8, when they were found guilty of high treason (in their absence, but on the clearest evidence), condemned to death, and all their honours, offices, lands, and goods, forfeited. But what is most remarkable, both the earl of Angus and the lord Gray (who, with sir James Liddale, had made the above treasonable treaty with Edward IV.), sat as judges at these trials; and were even appointed members of a committee to inquire of what lands and goods the two condemned traitors were possessed⁷³. Whether Angus and Gray had so effectually concealed their treasons as to escape suspicion; or their great power and that of their friends protected them; or the king, by this extraordinary lenity, hoped to gain them, it is impossible for us, at this distance of time, to discover. But certainly nothing ever exceeded the effrontery of these two lords, in sitting in judgment on their accomplices, with whom they knew they were equally guilty.

A.D. 1484.

Parliament.

William lord Crichton, a zealous partizan of the duke of Albany, fortified his castle of Crichton, and refused to surrender it to the king; but finding that it was not tenible, he fled into England. In the next session of parliament that met at Edinburgh, February 24, A.D. 1484, lord Crichton was found guilty of high treason; and the earl of Angus and lord Gray, still wearing the mask of

⁷³ Records of Parliament in the Register-office, Edinburgh.

loyalty,

loyalty, sat as judges at his trial ⁷⁴. At the earnest request of parliament, the king promised to give no remission to any person convicted of treason, for two years to come: a promise which the too great tenderness of his heart did not permit him to keep ⁷⁵. The parliament further advised the king to a strict observation of the truce that had been made with England, to take great pains to reconcile his nobility to each other, and to besiege the castle of Dunbar in the beginning of May ⁷⁶. But this last advice was either not complied with; or the attempt was unsuccessful.

A.D. 1484:

When the duke of Albany arrived in England, he found every thing in confusion; and his great friend the duke of Gloucester, who had usurped that throne, in no condition to assist him to usurp another. But being inflamed by ambition and incapable of repose, he determined, with the aid of the long-exiled earl of Douglas, to try his fortune in the field. Having collected a body of about 500 horsemen, chiefly composed of the robbers and plunderers in the English borders, the duke and earl entered Annandale, and approached the town of Lochmaben, June 22, being the day of a great fair. The people at this fair, having their arms (according to the custom of the borders in those times) to protect their goods, the lairds of Johnstone, Cockpool, and other gentlemen, put themselves at their head, and opposed the invaders.

Battle of
Lochma-
ben.

⁷⁴. Records of Parliament in the Register-office, Edinburgh.

⁷⁵ Ibid. Black Acts, f. 70.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

A fierce

A.D. 1484.

A fierce conflict ensued, which continued several hours, with various success. At length the English were put to flight; the duke of Albany escaped by the swiftness of his horse; but the earl of Douglas was taken by Alexander Kirkpatrick, and carried prisoner to Edinburgh. Nothing can place the merciful disposition of king James in a fairer point of view than his treatment of this hoary traitor, who had been the author of so many troubles to his country. Instead of commanding him to be executed on his former sentence, or bringing him to trial for his recent treasons, he only confined him to the abbey of Lindores⁷⁷. How inexcusable are those historians who have represented this prince as a cruel, implacable tyrant, who never forgave an injury⁷⁸.

Death of
Albany.

Soon after his repulse at Lochmaben, the duke of Albany left England, and went to the court of France, where he received a wound in a tournament, of which he died⁷⁹. This turbulent, ambitious prince, who had formed so many conspiracies against his too indulgent brother, left two sons, Alexander bishop of Moray, and John duke of Albany, who became regent of Scotland in the minority of James V⁸⁰.

Truce, &c.

The captivity of the earl of Douglas, and the death of the duke of Albany, broke all the measures of the earl of Angus and his partisans, and obliged them to remain quiet for some time. They

⁷⁷ Buchan. lib. 12. p. 236.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ferrer. f. 397.

⁸⁰ Crawford's Peerage, p. 7, 8.

were

were under the greater necessity of doing this; that A. D. 1484.
 a three-years truce with England was concluded
 at Nottingham, September 21, A. D. 1484; and
 at the same place, on the same day, a contract of
 marriage was signed by the plenipotentiaries of
 both kings, between James prince of Scotland and
 Ann de la Pole, daughter to the duke of Suffolk,
 and niece to Richard III. by his sister²¹. A con-
 gress was appointed to be held at York, on the
 next feast of the Virgin Mary, to settle all parti-
 culars respecting the intended marriage²².

King James laid the treaties of the truce and
 marriage before his parliament at Edinburgh, May
 26, A. D. 1485. The parliament (in which the
 earl of Angus was present) approved of both these
 treaties; and appointed an honourable embassy
 to be sent to the congress at York, consisting “of
 “ a bishop, ~~and~~ earl, ane honourable and wise
 “ clerk, a lord of parliament, a knight yat is a
 “ baroun, and a squiar yat is a baroun, and with
 “ yame servandis to complete to the noumer of
 “ fifti-twa personis, and yat yai sall haif to yr ex-
 “ pensis five hundreth pundis Scottis²³.” But the
 troubles in England, which terminated in the
 death of Richard III. prevented the meeting of
 the congress at York. The parliament also ap-
 pointed an embassy to be sent to the pope, to ob-

A. D. 1485.
 Parlia-
 ment.

²¹ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 236—246.

²² Id. *ibid*.

²³ Records of Parliament. The publication called the Black Acts is not a faithful transcript from the records. The above transaction, for example, and many others, are ascribed to a parliament that met February 24, A. D. 1484.

A.D. 1485.

tain, amongst other things, his approbation of the dissolution of the priory of Coldingham, and the annexation of its revenues to the chapel royal in Stirling castle, agreeable to the sentence of two cardinals, to whom that matter had been referred⁸⁴. This is a sufficient evidence that the parliament approved of that measure; but as it produced very fatal effects, it merits a more particular narration.

Disaffec-
tion of the
Humes
and Hep-
burns.

Stirling castle, on account of its beautiful situation and delightful prospects, was the favourite residence of James III. in which he built a palace, with an elegant chapel. To procure funds for the support of a dean, prebends, a numerous band of singers, musicians, and other officers, he suppressed, by a regular process, the priory of Coldingham, and endowed his chapel with its revenues. This gave great offence to the Humes (a numerous and powerful clan in the Merse), who had been accustomed to receive profitable leases and other advantages from the priors, who were generally of their own name; and they having entered into a bond of mutual assistance with the Hepburns, both became exceedingly turbulent and disaffected to the king, and brought a great accession of strength to his secret enemies⁸⁵.

Castle of
Dunbar
recovered.

The castle of Dunbar was still in the hands of the English; but being besieged in the summer of this year, it was taken without much difficulty,

⁸⁴ Records of Parliament.

⁸⁵ Pitcottie, p. 86. Hawthornden, p. 108.

the garrison despairing of receiving any succours⁸⁶. A.D. 1485.

Henry VII. soon after his accession, began to cultivate the friendship of the king of Scotland; and a truce for three years, from July 3, A.D. 1486, was concluded by the plenipotentiaries of both kings, after a negotiation of several days, in the months of June and July⁸⁷. From this truce it appears, that Archibald earl of Angus still enjoyed the favour and confidence of his sovereign, as he was appointed warden of the east and middle marches, and one of the conservators of the truce⁸⁸. It is also remarkable, that John Ramsay of Balmain, lately created lord Bothwell, was one of the negotiators of this truce; which is the first time we meet with any of king James's favourites (about whom there hath been so much noise) employed in any important or national transaction. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh, October 24, A. D. 1486⁸⁹. A.D. 1486.
Truce.

Several insurrections in England, and the affair of Lambert Simnel, having convinced Henry VII. that he had many enemies both at home and abroad, he became very desirous of a more secure peace with the kingdom, and a more intimate connection with the royal family, of Scotland. With this view he sent Richard bishop of Exeter, and Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of his household, ambassadors to Edinburgh, to negotiate these affairs; and king James appointed William bishop of Aber- A.D. 1487.
Treaty.

⁸⁶ Abercromby, vol. 2. p. 468.
p. 285-292. ⁸⁸ Id. *ibid*.

⁸⁷ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12.
⁸⁹ Id. *ibid*. p. 316.

A.D. 1487.

deen, and John lord Bothwell, to treat with them. These plenipotentiaries having agreed upon certain preliminaries for a truce and intended intermarriages, one copy of them was signed by Carlisle herald, commissioned by the king of England, and delivered at Edinburgh, November 17, to Snowdon herald, who, by virtue of a commission from the king of Scotland, signed and delivered another copy to Carlisle herald at the same time. By these preliminaries,—the truce was prolonged—a marriage was proposed between James marquis of Ormond, king James's second son, and the third daughter of the late king Edward IV.; another between king James and queen Elisabeth, Edward's widow, and a third between James prince of Scotland, and such another daughter of king Edward as should be agreed upon by the two kings. As the king of Scotland insisted on the delivery of Berwick to him, that matter was to be finally settled before any of these marriages took effect. To bring these important affairs nearer a conclusion, another meeting of the plenipotentiaries was appointed to be held at Edinburgh, January 24, A. D. 1488, and a second in the month of May, at a place to be agreed upon; and that the two kings should have a personal interview in July⁹⁰.

Parliament.

King James called a parliament that met at Edinburgh, October 1, A. D. 1487; and both the earl of Angus and his eldest son were present. The parliament made an affecting representation to the king of the deplorable distress and disorder

⁹⁰ Rym. Feed. tom. 12. p. 328—332.

of the kingdom, "throw tresoun, slauchter, reif, birning, theft, and oppin heirschip, throw default of scharpe execution of justice, and overcommoun granting of grace and remissionis to trespassouris." The king, at the earnest request of the three estates, promised to give no remission to any person who was guilty of any of the above crimes for seven years. This promise gave great satisfaction, which is expressed in the following strong terms:—"Because our soverane lord has so graciously applyit him to the counsell of his thre estates at this tyme in all thingis concerning thame, and the commoun proffit of the realme, and beninglie grantit to thame all thair desyre and requeistis that thay have maid to his majestie; all the lordis spiritual and temporal, barronis, freholders, and communities of the estates of the realme hes frelie grantit, that ever ilk ane of thame for himself, fall faithfully promise and sweir, that they fall not in tyme to come mantein, fortifie, supplie, defend, nor be advocatis, nor stand at the bar, with manifest traitouris, nor commoun men slayares, theiffis, reiffaris, nor other trespassouris." The parliament, in this session, made many excellent regulations for preventing the crimes above mentioned, and for bringing those who were guilty of them to justice. In particular, they made it high treason, "to do or attempt to do contrare the union and annexatioun maid of the pryorie of Coldinghame to the king's chapel royal"⁹¹.

⁹¹ Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 75—78.

A. D. 1488.

Second
Session.

The second session of this parliament began at Edinburgh, January 29, A. D. 1488; and from the records, it seems to have been animated by the same spirit of loyalty, and entire satisfaction with the king and his administration, as the former. The three estates approved of the preliminary treaty respecting the proposed marriages between the two royal families, and appointed plenipotentiaries to attend the meeting that was to be in May about that matter, and gave them express instructions, not to consent to a peace, or to any of the marriages, unless the king of England agreed to restore, or at least to destroy, the town and castle of Berwick. The king, in full parliament, created his second son duke of Ross, and the barons Drummond, Yester, Sanquhar, and Ruthven, lords of parliament. The last act of this session is remarkable. The Humes and Hepburns had paid no regard to the late act, declaring it high treason to obstruct the annexation of Coldingham to the chapel royal, but had opposed that measure with the greatest violence. The parliament therefore appointed a committee, with parliamentary powers, to try all who had violated that act; and the earl of Angus, with the chief men of his party, were members of that committee⁹². So artfully had they concealed their treasonable machinations, that the king, at this time, believed them to be his best friends. The parliament was then adjourned to the 5th of May; but it was dissolved by proclamation, February 21, and a new parliament was

⁹² Records of Parliament.

summoned

summoned to meet, May 12, at Edinburgh⁹³. A. D. 1484.
The troubles that soon after arose prevented the meeting of that parliament.

The earl of Angus and his partisans were greatly alarmed at the intended intermarriages between the two royal families. Conscious of their own guilt, suspecting, or perhaps knowing, that queen Elizabeth was not ignorant of it, they justly dreaded that she would communicate the knowledge of their treasonable intrigues with her late husband to her future spouse, and perhaps produce the original treaty of Westminster, A. D. 1483, which would render their guilt evident, and their ruin certain⁹⁴. They determined, therefore, to prevent the intended marriages at any rate, and to dethrone or even destroy their sovereign, as the only means of preventing their own destruction. They began by spreading the most odious calumnies against the king, representing him as a blood-thirsty tyrant, because he was then endeavouring to execute the laws against traitors, murderers, thieves, and plunderers, according to his promise; as an enemy to all his ancient nobility, because he had raised John Ramfay of Balmain, an old and faithful servant, to be a lord and master of the household. The earl of Angus gave out, that the king had formed a plot to destroy many of the nobility at the last meeting of parliament; had communicated the design to him, and desired his assistance; than which nothing can be more improbable⁹⁵.

Conspiracy.

⁹³ Records of Parliament.

⁹⁴ See p. 395—397.

⁹⁵ Buchan. 1. 12, p. 237. Godscroft, p. 228.

A.D. 1488.

These, and other calumnies, poisoned the minds of the common people, and made too great an impression on some persons of rank. Andrew lord Gray, the chief associate of Angus in the affair of Lauder and all his other treasons, engaged with great ardour in this conspiracy; and John lord Drummond, though advanced to the peerage only a few weeks before, acted the same part. Sir Alexander Hume, afterwards created lord Hume, Patrick Hepburn lord Hailes, with all the gentlemen of the names of Hume and Hepburn, being already obnoxious to the law, entered warmly into the design of dethroning the king, to prevent their own condemnation. All the borderers, the most warlike people in the kingdom, dreading the execution of the late laws against murder, theft, and robbery; and in a word, all vagabonds and outlaws, who feared the punishment they knew they deserved, joined in this conspiracy, and added greatly to its strength. The earl of Argyle, the bishop of Glasgow, and the lord Lytle, also joined this party. The earl of Argyle had lately been deprived of the chancellor's office; the bishop of Glasgow had a contest with the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and the lord Lytle was at variance with James earl of Buchan, the king's uncle, which might have some influence on their conduct on this occasion⁹⁶.

Rebellion.

King James, perceiving the impending storm, endeavoured to guard against it, by furnishing the

⁹⁶ Ferrer. f. 399. Crawford's Peerage, p. 259. 292.

A. D. 1488.

castles of Stirling and Edinburgh with every thing necessary for their defence. Having committed the custody of the former, and of his three sons, to James Schaw of Sauchie, in whose fidelity he placed the most perfect confidence, he embarked at Leith with a small retinue, and landed in Fife. The conspirators now broke out into open rebellion, seized part of the king's baggage, and some boxes of his money at Leith, and took the castle of Dunbar by surprise, in which they found money, arms, and ammunition ⁹⁷.

The king proceeded northward, by Aberdeen, to Inverness, issuing proclamations to all his subjects in those parts to join his standard on a certain day. These proclamations were favourably received; the earl of Crawford who had been lately created duke of Montrose, the earls of Huntly, Errol, Athol, Rothes, Sutherland, Caithness, and Marischal, with the lords Forbes, Ogilvie, Fraser, and all the chieftains of the north (except the lords Gray and Drummond), applied themselves to raise their followers to support their sovereign ⁹⁸. At Inverness, James gave a fresh proof of his merciful and forgiving disposition, by pardoning the lord Crichton (who there threw himself at his feet), though he had been one of his most inveterate enemies ⁹⁹. But when he was thus employed, he received intelligence that overwhelmed him with surprise and sorrow.

The king
retires into
the north.

⁹⁷ Pitscottie, p. 26, 27. Hawthornden, p. 110.

⁹⁸ Ferrer. f. 400.

⁹⁹ Hawthornden, p. 111.

When

A.D. 1455.

The prince
delivered
to the
rebels.

When the conspirators assembled their forces, they found themselves strong and well appointed, but without any person they could propose to substitute in the place of the prince they intended to dethrone; and without this they knew they could hardly hope for success. Having cast their eyes on the king's eldest son, as in all respects fittest for their purpose, they found means to open a correspondence with the governor of Stirling castle, and by great bribes and greater promises, prevailed upon him to betray his important trust, and deliver the prince into their hands at Linlithgow²⁰⁰. As the prince was only about fifteen years of age at this time, it would not be difficult to deceive him by specious arguments, particularly by threatening (as we are told they did), that if he did not join them, they would subject the kingdom to the English²⁰¹.

Pacifica-
tion of
Blackness.

As soon as the king received the news of this unhappy and unexpected event, he returned to the south with such troops as had joined him, directing the chieftains in those parts to follow him. Being wafted with his army over the Forth by the famous sir Andrew Wood of Largo, he encamped at Blackness, within a few miles of Linlithgow, the head-quarters of the insurgents. There he was joined by the earl of Glencairn, the lords Erskine, Maxwell, Ruthven, sir Thomas Semple, and sir Alexander Boyde, with their followers,

²⁰⁰ Pitfcottie, p. 87, 88. Hawthornden, p. 111. Buchan. p. 238.

²⁰¹ Buchan. p. 238.

which

A.D. 1488.

which rendered his army superior to that of his enemies. But James, naturally timid and averse to war, entered into a negotiation with the adverse party; and having given a commission to the bishop of Aberdeen, the earls of Huntly and Marischal, the lord Glamis and Alexander Lindsay, to treat with the bishop of Glasgow, the earls of Angus and Argyle, the lords Hailes and Lysle; these commissioners concluded a pacification, at Blackness, about the middle of May A. D. 1488, on the following terms: 1. The king shall be supported in his estate, honour, and royal authority, that he may administer justice impartially to all his subjects: 2. The king's most noble person shall be at all times, in honour, security, and freedom, attended by prelates, earls, lords, and barons, of the greatest wisdom, and most agreeable to him and his subjects of all parties: 3. All persons now about the prince, who have offended the king, shall make such amends as the above commissioners shall determine, saving their honours, estates, and lives: 4. The king shall allow an honourable appointment to the prince his son, to be settled by the said commissioners: 5. That lords and honourable persons of wisdom, and virtuous dispositions, shall be constantly about the prince in his tender age: 6. The prince shall at all times love, honour, and obey his father: 7. The lords, and others about the prince, shall enjoy the king's favour and grace: 8. The prince shall take into his hearty love and favour, all the lords and others, who have served the king in these

A. D. 1488:

these times of trouble: 9. The commissioners shall endeavour to remove all personal and family feuds between the lords of the different parties, particularly that between the earl of Buchan and lord Lyfle ¹⁰².

Negotia-
tions with
Henry VII.

This wise and equitable treaty did not produce the happy effects that might have been expected. As several important matters still remained to be settled by the commissioners, both parties, full of mutual distrust, stood on their guard, and retained their forces. They both turned their eyes towards England, the one expecting aid, and the other dreading opposition from that quarter. Henry VII. appointed commissioners, May 5, to treat with those of his most dear brother James king of Scotland; and about the same time he granted a safe-conduct to Robert bishop of Glasgow, George bishop of Dunkeld, Colin earl of Argyle, Patrick lord Hailes, Robert lord Lyfle, Matthew Stewart master of Darnly, and Alexander master of Hume, who were all of the prince's party, to come into England ¹⁰³. But no use, it is probable, was made of that safe-conduct.

The king's
march to
Stirling.

In the mean time, king James resided in the castle of Edinburgh; and if he had remained quiet in that place till the commissioners had settled all the points referred to them by the treaty of Blackness, and the ambassadors expected from the courts of England, France, and Rome, had

¹⁰² Records of parliament. See this treaty at full length, Appendix. No. 3. in the next Volume.

¹⁰³ Rym. Fœd. tom. 12. p. 340, 341.

arrived,

arrived, all might have ended well. But either A. D. 1488.
 his own inclination, or the advice of his friends, induced him to march to Stirling, as a more agreeable residence, and more convenient for forming a junction with his loyal subjects in the north; and he met with no interruption in his march, though the two armies must have been very near to one another.

This imprudent measure was disapproved, it is said, by many of his best friends, and gave a great alarm to the adverse party, who considered it as a breach of the pacification of Blackheath¹⁰⁴. The king, with his army, took possession of the town of Stirling; but he was refused admittance into the castle: and while he was expostulating with the governor on that subject, intelligence arrived that the prince's army was advancing to attack him. There was little time for deliberation, and it was rashly resolved to fight. The two armies met and engaged, June 11, A. D. 1488, in the fields between the village of Bannockburn and Torwood. The conflict was fierce; but the borderers (of whom the prince's army chiefly consisted), being better armed, and more used to arms than their enemies, soon threw the royal army into confusion. The king endeavoured to save himself by flight; but riding down a steep road in the village of Bannockburn, he fell from his horse, and was carried into a mill, where he was discovered and slain by

Battle of Stirling, and the king's death.

¹⁰⁴ Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 83.

some

A. D. 1432. some of the pursuers ¹⁰⁵. Thus perished this unfortunate prince, in the prime of life, when he had reigned almost twenty-nine years, and lived thirty-five years and five months. He was buried in the abbey-church of Cambuskenneth, near the remains of his queen; by whom he left three sons, viz. James, who succeeded him, another James, duke of Ross, and John earl of Mar.

Character. Few princes have been more calumniated during life, or more misrepresented after death, than James III. of Scotland. I shall therefore endeavour to draw his character as I have written his history, with all the attention and impartiality in my power. Ferrerius, who received his information from those who were familiarly acquainted with him, describes his person in this manner: "In the beauty of his face, in the strength and elegant shape of his body, and symmetry of all his limbs, he far excelled all the princes of his time ¹⁰⁶." In personal valour he was not conspicuous; nor did he either delight or excel in riding, tilting, and other martial exercises; which sunk him in the estimation of his nobility. By some historians, he hath been represented as an implacable unrelenting tyrant, resembling Richard III. in cruelty; than which nothing can be more directly opposite to truth ¹⁰⁷; for an excessive facility in forgiving the greatest injuries, and

¹⁰⁵ Records of Parliament. Ferrer. f. 400, 401. Buchan. l. 12. p. 239. Hawthornden, p. 116. Pitscottie, p. 90.

¹⁰⁶ Ferrer. f. 401.

¹⁰⁷ Buchan. l. 12. p. 235—237.

pardoning the greatest crimes, was the most fatal defect in his character, the chief cause of his own calamities, and of all the disorders of his reign. Of this his parliaments frequently complained, and intreated him to abstain from granting pardons with so much ease, and to suffer justice to take its course¹⁰⁸. Though he was harassed by a succession of rebellions, no person of rank was put to death for treason, except sir Alexander Boyde, when James was still young, and entirely in the power of sir Alexander's enemies. He is accused, by the same historian, of incontinence, and that of the most criminal kind; but without any proof, and contrary to all probability, as his consort was the most amiable princess in the world; and he was almost the only prince of his name and family who had no natural children¹⁰⁹. He was regular in his attendance on the service of the church; took pleasure in hearing eloquent sermons, at which he always stood bare-headed, and taught his sons to do the same¹¹⁰. He had a genius for learning, and was a generous encourager of learned men¹¹¹. But the most striking feature in the character of this prince, was his fondness for the fine arts, and for those who excelled in them, on whom he bestowed more of his company, confidence, and favour, than became a king in his circumstances. This excited in his fierce and haughty nobles, dislike and contempt of their sovereign, and indig-

¹⁰⁸ Records of Parliament. Black Acts, f. 71. 74.

¹⁰⁹ Buchan. l. 12. p. 236.

¹¹⁰ Ferrer. f. 404.

¹¹¹ Id. f. 391.

nation

A.D. 1488.

nation against the objects of his favour; which produced the most pernicious consequences. In one word, if James III. had flourished in a more polished age and more civilized country, he would have been esteemed, what he really was, a good and amiable, though not a great prince.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.





